ANTWERP'S GOLDEN AGE

ANTWERP'S GOLDEN AGE

16th - 17th centuries

ANTWERP'S GOLDEN AGE

The Metropolis of the West in the 16th and 17th Centuries

An exhibition organized by the City of Antwerp
In collaboration with the Belgian Ministry of Flemish Culture
Sponsored by the Belgian Embassy

PROPERTY OF
THE CORCORAN GALLERY OF ART
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

Circulated by the Smithsonian Institution

1973-1975

LENDERS TO THE EXHIBITION

Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp
Stedelijk Prentenkabinet (Print Room), Antwerp
Vleeshuis Museum (Butchers' Hall, Museum of Applied Arts), Antwerp
Rubens' House, Antwerp
Royal Gallery of Fine Arts, Antwerp
Mayer van den Bergh Museum, Antwerp
The Cathedral, Antwerp
Onze-Lieve-Vrouwcollege (College of Our Lady), Antwerp
Commissie van Openbare Onderstand (Commission of Public Assistance), Antwerp

FOREWORD

Antwerp today is a thriving city on the river Scheldt, an international harbor and one of the more important industrial complexes of Europe. There was a time, however, when all threads of international trade converged on Antwerp, making it the great metropolis of the West and the foremost trading and banking center of Christianity.

This commercial and financial hegemony lasted for more than three quarters of a century—from about 1500 - 1585. In that period Antwerp won leading place as cultural center of the Low Countries ; its influence on the spread of Renaissance art, thought, and ways of living throughout Europe North of the Alps was unsurpassed.

About 1585, owing to the military and political upheavals of the bloody conflict known as the Eighty Years War, a decline set in. Antwerp's position as World Market passed to other cities. Just the same, for another three quarters of a century (till about 1650) Antwerp remained the vigorous nerve-center of the Southern Netherlands. Moreover, thanks to a cluster of brilliant and genial masters it gained international fame in the art world beyond that of its economic heyday. In the setting sun of its trade-life Antwerp shone as the great Western-European center of Baroque art.

Antwerp's glorious past is well known to many Americans. American scholars have made important contributions to cultivation of the Antwerp heritage. In the United States the "American Friends of the Plantin-Moretus Museum," founded by Professor Ray Nash of Dartmouth College, are active in promoting the study of typography and art through the tremendous collections of the old Plantinian printing house at the Antwerp Friday Market. And numerous studies by American scholars have enriched the noteworthy publications on 17th century Flemish art edited by the "Rubenianum" at Antwerp.

I believe, however, that for the American public at large Antwerp's importance as a Renaissance and Baroque art and cultural center is less clear. Consequently, the city of Antwerp gratefully accepted the opportunity provided by the Smithsonian Institution to point out salient features of Antwerp's illustrious past through an exhibit in the States. This is not a large exhibition, but some significant and unique pieces are included. We believe the selections give a comprehensive picture of Antwerp's Golden Age, and document the important achievement of the artists and scholars of this Renaissance and Baroque metropolis.

JOS VAN ELEWYCK
Alderman of Culture of the City of Antwerp

INTRODUCTION

It was fashionable, not so long ago, for museum pundits to assert that the age of great exhibitions had passed. Man's patrimony was becoming better known through the popular press, glossy magazines and prestige publications. These explored, seemingly far better than any exhibition could, the multiple aspects of man's artistic and cultural development over the centuries. Near supersonic transportation was making accessible, not only the traditional centers and the capitals of Europe and the Near East, but far away archaeological sites which, but a few decades ago, could only be visited by specialists backed by the prestige of their governments or by scholarly societies. In short, the cultures of the world were considered to be no farther than the nearest airline ticket counter, and our national resources as accessible as the nearest bus terminal.

Yet, what has happened ? The number of traveling exhibitions far from shrinking has grown, and though perhaps the prestigeous manifestations which occurred in the pre-War period have diminished in frequency, when they are organized, they are met not only with popular success but, very often, with scholarly reward.

The reason for this seeming contradiction is, I think, clear : In spite of the growing millions who are crisscrossing time zones, a far larger number of us have little or no opportunity for that kind of travel, and the reproductions, films, slides, "grand piano" books, or inspiring television programs, no matter how good, are no substitutes for creating the emotion and understanding which the real object provides.

We know much about the life of materials, the effects of changes in temperature, of vibration, and other factors in selecting objects for traveling. For greater care is being exerted than was the case a few decades ago, and many objects which previously would have been sent on long travels are now permanently enshrined in the institutions which are charged with their safekeeping.

But other objects, with proper care, can travel. ANTWERP'S GOLDEN AGE consists of a very carefully chosen group which reflects the extraordinary flowering of a culture which, in a relatively short time, underwent a radical transformation, emerging from, one might say, Gothic "sanctity," to Renaissance worldliness, and to international affluence and influence.

This exhibition is giving the opportunity to countless thousands of American museum visitors, for the first time, to come face-to-face with the material remains of this extraordinarily dynamic period. It would not have been possible without the wholehearted cooperation

of our colleagues in Belgium, and the diplomatic and cultural authorities of Belgium and the United States.

I would like to extend particular thanks to :

Mr. Jos Van Elewyck, Alderman for Culture of the City of Antwerp, who, in the late Fall of 1971, generously offered to the Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition Service the possibility of circulating this exhibition ;

Dr. Leon Voet, Director of the Plantin-Moretus Museum and of the Antwerp Municipal Print Room, who was responsible for selecting the graphic art, typography and bookbinding, and supervised the preparation of this exhibition and this catalogue ;

Mr. Frans Baudouin, Director of the "Kunsthistorische Musea" and Curator of Rubens' House, who selected the paintings and drawings ;

Dr. Jeannine Lambrechts-Douillez, Assistant Director of the "Oudheidkundige Musea," and in charge of the "Vleeshuis" Museum, who selected the sculptures and medals.

Without the wholehearted support given by His Excellency the Belgian Minister of Flemish Culture, and His Excellency Mr. W. Loridan, Ambassador of Belgium in the United States, this exhibition would not have been circulated in the United States. Mr. E. Staes, Cultural Attaché at the Belgian Embassy in Washington, and his colleagues in the several Consular offices were also of invaluable assistance.

Finally, I wish to express congratulations to Mr. Dennis A. Gould, Director of the Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition Service, his able assistant Ms. Eileen Rose, and to Mr. Gilbert Wright, of the Office of Exhibits Central, Smithsonian Institution, who edited the English text of this catalogue.

In every respect, the close cooperation of those responsible in organizing this exhibition reflects the long tradition of friendship which has marked the relationship between the United States and the Kingdom of Belgium. May ANTWERP'S GOLDEN AGE be the occasion for a further tightening of these bonds, as well as for providing a deeper understanding of the great contributions which Antwerp and its people have made and are continuing to make to our culture.

PAUL N. PERROT
Assistant Secretary for Museum Programs
Smithsonian Institution

I. HISTORY OF ANTWERP

1. *Antwerp's rise took many centuries*

Antwerp's principal asset was—and is still today—its location at the estuary of the river Scheldt, some 50 miles from the open sea. The site was already occupied in Roman times, but the Low Countries then formed a forlorn and desolate outpost of the Empire. They remained a border country for some centuries after the fall of the Western Roman Empire.

At *Andowerpia*, in the 7th century, the Merovingian kings built a fortress to control the dangerous Frisian (Northern Dutch) pirates, the masters of the Scheldt estuary ; but trade at the foot of the fortress was all but non-existent. The Carolingians united Western Europe in the 8th century—and for the first time in history the Low Countries ceased to be a border country ; they became the intersection of Western European traffic.

The new prosperity attracted less welcome guests. Like so many other emerging *portus* (trade-centers) around the North Sea, Antwerp was gutted by the Vikings (836). In that same 9th century, the Carolingian Empire broke up into feuding kingdoms in which powerful nobles carved out numerous duchies and counties. Chaos continued to prevail. Security remained the principal need of the traders—and that security was sought in the shadow of the castles which now dotted the countryside as suddenly as daisies in spring.

At the end of the 9th century a castle was also built near the place where the Merovingian and Carolingian fortress of *Andowerpia* once stood. Antwerp got a new start. A century later the German emperors made this castle the principal bulwark of a *mark* (fortified border zone), to control the turbulent counts of Flanders, masters of the other side of the river Scheldt. Eventually, when the power of the German emperors slipped in this part of the Empire, the mark, with the castle and the agglomeration at its ramparts, was seized by the Dukes of Brabant.

The worst anarchy passed ; trade could finally resume. In their principality, the counts of Flanders, more powerful than the neighboring princes, secured law and order with an iron fist. The Flemish merchants, consequently, were the first to profit from the new opportunities. Ghent became the greatest industrial center of Western Europe ; Bruges, at the Swin-estuary, arose to be the great international trade-center of the late Middle Ages. Antwerp had to be

Antwerp at the cross-roads of Europe

content with the far less glamorous role of regional harbor for the Duchy of Brabant.

2. Antwerp's rise and Bruges's decline in the 15th century

The picture changed in the 15th century. The prosperity of the Flemish and the Southern Brabant cities was based on one staple product : wool cloth. This cloth was made from fine English wool. But in the second half of the 14th century, the English themselves started to weave this wool, instead of exporting it. This was a deadly blow to the Flemish and Brabant textile centers and their principal export harbor, Bruges, all of whom reacted by boycotting the English "Merchants Adventurers," and their merchandise. Only one city in the Low Countries continued to give the English a warm welcome : Antwerp, not being a textile center, had no need to protect its weavers.

The city had in the 14th century organized, together with the smaller harbor of Bergen-op-Zoom, somewhat more to the North, the so-called "Fairs of Brabant," which four times a year (twice in Antwerp, twice in Bergen-op-Zoom) attracted crowds from all over the Low Countries. They attracted also the English cloth-merchants. From the end of the 14th century, the "Fairs of Brabant" became one of their principal outlets on the continent. To buy the English cloth, merchants from West-Germany (Cologne) and South-Germany (Nuremberg and Augsburg) soon appeared. The South-Germans could offer much desired raw materials such as copper and silver from the Bohemian mines. While the Netherlands were in the throes of the most bitter economic crisis of their whole history, Antwerp slowly arose—thanks to its fairs, the English Merchants Adventurers and the German metal lords.

3. From regional center to world-market

At the end of the 15th century the Portuguese found the seaway to India and conquered with it the monopoly of the spice-trade. As early as 1501, the first Portuguese ships with their precious exotic cargoes dropped anchor in Antwerp harbor. The Portuguese had the intention of making Antwerp the trade center of their new riches. There was good reason for their choice. They needed for their trade in Africa and India great amounts of copper and silver—and these amounts they could easily barter in Antwerp with South-German traders. The wheels of fate went turning...

The possibilities offered so suddenly by the Portuguese at Antwerp attracted the big South-German metal magnates and billionnaires of

that time, the Fuggers, Welsers, and Hochstetters. With the money gained by their mutual barter, South-Germans and Portuguese started to buy larger quantities of English cloth. The English Merchants Adventurers had to import such quantities that they could not prepare it adequately. Antwerp specialists were willing to do just that and so the city became an important textile-center for finishing English cloth. Portuguese, Germans, and even the English were eager to buy the cheap cloth (woven with Spanish wool) which had become in the 15th century a speciality of the Flemish and Brabant countryside. Linen also came into greater demand than ever before, being better suited for the tropical worlds opened by the Spanish conquistadores and the Portuguese sailors. This linen boom transformed rural Flanders and Brabant in a few years ; acres and acres of farmland became reserved for growing flax and thousands of farmers started to weave that flax into fine linen. The Netherlands textile-industry, now specialized in cheap cloth and linen, got a powerful shot in the arm—and increasing quantities of these products were transported to Antwerp and marketed there.

At first the Spaniards and Italians stood somewhat aloof. The Italian merchants in medieval Bruges had traded in spices essentially. The sudden collapse of the Italian spice-monopoly ruined many of them. But others reacted and hastened to Antwerp with luxury products such as silk and silkcloth. At first the Spaniards had only their wool to offer—and this wool-trade remained concentrated in Bruges, cushioning the death-struggle of the Venice of the North. But when the silver of the Peruvian mines of Potosi started about 1545 to flow to Spain, the Spaniards appeared at Antwerp to buy with this precious silver whatever products they liked.

Antwerp, still a rather sleepy port in 1500, awakening only at the rythm of the Fairs of Brabant, grew in a hectic two decades to become the big Metropolis of the West. Its population arose in only half a century from some 40,000 to more than 100,000. This means little by modern standards, but in the 16th century European cities with 100,000 inhabitants could be counted on the fingers of one hand. Paris, Venice, and Florence may have surpassed Antwerp, but that was about all.

Antwerp remained essentially a trade-center for the products of the Netherlands (cheap wool cloth, linen, wall tapestries) and foreign wares (Portuguese spices, English cloth, German copper), and correspondingly a banking center. But its industrial activity also developed quickly and grew in importance (finishing of English cloth ; manufacture of silk-cloth, imitated from the Italian products). Into the city flocked also many luxury-industries, requiring important capital and

great export possibilities : cutting of diamonds, printing and publishing, and the whole range of art-industries.

4. *Antwerp caught in the political-religious storm of the Eighty Years War*

Antwerp was catapulted into the Metropolis of the West in only a few years. Its splendor was also short-lived. The Low Countries or Netherlands (actual Belgium and Netherlands) became restless in the reign of the Spanish Habsburg, Philip II (1555-1598). Two protest-movements reacted against each other.

The first Protestant movement of Luther's followers was quelled without great difficulties by the autorities, following the rigorous instructions of the Catholic Habsburg ruler, Charles V, father of Philip II. The Anabaptist movement of the years '30 with its social (one is inclined to say "communist") undertones was detested by all parties and the burning of the faithful did not arouse much compassion. But about 1540 a new form of militant Protestantism, Calvinism, began spreading, recruiting its adherents in all classes of society and finding powerful defenders among the nobility. The burning of these Protestants did arouse heavy reactions. The second protest movement had a more decided political character. Philip II felt himself, in the first place, a Spaniard and behaved as such, a fact which was heavily resented in the Netherlands. The higher nobility—both Catholics and Protestants—began to agitate for more autonomy. Their propaganda sent shockwaves throughout the country.

The Calvinist activities and the Anti-Royalist propaganda finally melted together in the big explosion of the Iconoclast-movement (August 1566). The rebellion was stamped out early in 1567. But in his anger Philip II sent the Duke of Alva with a standing army to the Netherlands to control the country in a more rigorous way. The tensions mounted and led in 1572 to the rising of Holland and Zealand. The other provinces followed in 1576. Bitter bickering between Catholics and Calvinists gave, however, the capable governor for Philip II, Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma, the opportunity to reconquer for Spain and Catholicism the Southern Netherlands, actual Belgium (1579-1585). The North stood its ground and became the independent and Calvinist republic of the United Provinces (actual Netherlands).

Antwerp had its part in the first phase of this bitter struggle known as the Eighty Years War (1566-1648). It was a Calvinist stronghold in 1566 and in August of that year the iconoclasts ravaged its churches and cloisters. But the Duke of Alva ordered a citadel to be built at the South side of the City—and with the guns of the citadel pointed at

their houses, the Antwerp citizens remained very quiet during the following years. Out of the citadel, however, came on Sunday, 4 November 1576, mutinous Spanish soldiers to storm, plunder, and burn the city—a fateful day, remembered since as the "Spanish Fury." The Spanish soldiers eventually retired and a revengeful Antwerp joined the rebellion and opened its gates for the Calvinists. The city became, together with Ghent, the foremost Calvinist stronghold in the South. It was also the last Southern bastion to capitulate in August 1585 to Alexander Farnese, after a heroic struggle and a siege which lasted more than a year.

5. *Antwerp remains a thriving center for another three quarters of a century (1585-1650)*

Antwerp capitulated in August 1585 on very honorable conditions ; but its position as Metropolis of the West belonged to the past. More than half of its citizens left the city, mostly to the triumphant North, where many of them played an important role. The rise of Amsterdam in those years was largely due to the import of Antwerp merchants, artisans, capital, and know-how.

The years immediately following the capitulation were among the worst in Antwerp's long history. But, somehow, the city was able to regain some of the lost positions. Antwerp's decline is traditionally ascribed to the closing of the Scheldt by the United Provinces (de facto from 1585 ; de jure at the Treaty of Munster, 1648). In fact, the closing of the Scheldt was never very hermetical. By levying taxes on import and export, the United Provinces had all interest in keeping alive Antwerp's trade. They required only that the wares had to be transported on Dutch ships.

Other factors were far more important. Antwerp's towering position in 16th century world-trade reposed on two cornerstones. Its growth in the first years of the century was due to the fact that it became then a transit-center for foreign commodities. Thanks to this circumstance the city became very soon the export center for Netherland's products—including many goods manufactured within its own walls. One pillar of Antwerp's prosperity was blown to pieces between 1572 and 1585. Antwerp ceased to be a transit-center of any importance. The English clothmerchant and the German metal-magnate did not return after 1585. Only the Southern foreign merchant-communities—Spaniards, Portuguese, Italians—remained, but their numbers and influence dwindled. Antwerp, however, remained the export center for the Southern Netherlands. The years after 1585 were catastrophic only because Antwerp's hinterland was desolated.

The situation bears some resemblance to the one in Germany in 1945. But the rubble got removed, the fields tilled and cheap cloth and fine linen became available once again for export. In Antwerp itself the finishing of English cloth was no longer done but the new silk-industry grew in importance. The artistic production—also largely concentrated on export—won in intensity and diversification. Antwerp lost its position as Metropolis to Amsterdam, but could thrive reasonably well for some decades to come, as the trade-center of the still very active Southern Netherlands. As a center of art it shone even more brilliantly than ever before : it became the capital of the Baroque North of the Alps.

About 1650, the picture again became gloomy. The wars of Louis XIV of France devastated anew Antwerp's backyard. And this time there was no redress. Antwerp regressed into a not too important regional trade-center with a limited industrial activity. It had to wait until the beginning years of the 19th century, when Napoleon built it into "the pistol directed at the heart of England" to arise as the eternal phoenix out of its ashes and to become once again, if no more the Metropolis of the West, at least one of the important ports of the world and, since the Second World War, one of the big industrial complexes of Western Europe.

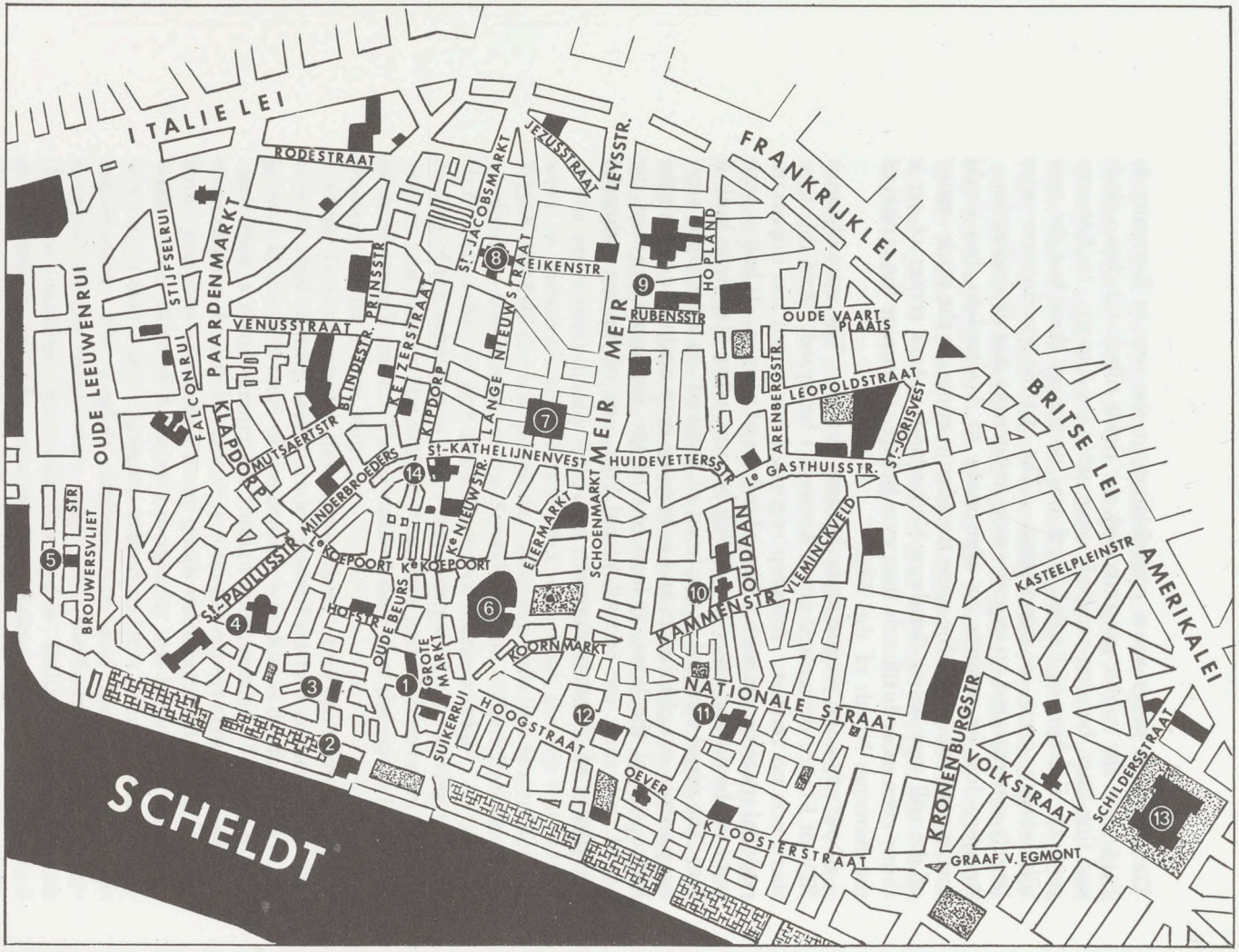
LEON VOET

THE CENTER OF ANTWERP

This center corresponds with the city of Antwerp as it was in the 16th and 17th centuries, within the line of the ramparts built in 1542-45, now the large avenues encompassing the city to the East from North to South and called *lei*.

Some of the principal landmarks :

1. Town Hall
2. "Steen" (national Maritime Museum)
3. "Vleeshuis" (Butchers' Hall ; now Museum of Applied Arts)
4. St. Paul's Church
5. Brewers' House
6. Church of Our Lady (Cathedral)
7. Exchange
8. St. James's Church
9. Rubens' House
10. St. Augustine's Church
11. St. Andrew's Church
12. Museum Plantin-Moretus and Print Room
13. Royal Gallery of Fine Arts
14. Carolus Borromeus Church



II. THE CITY

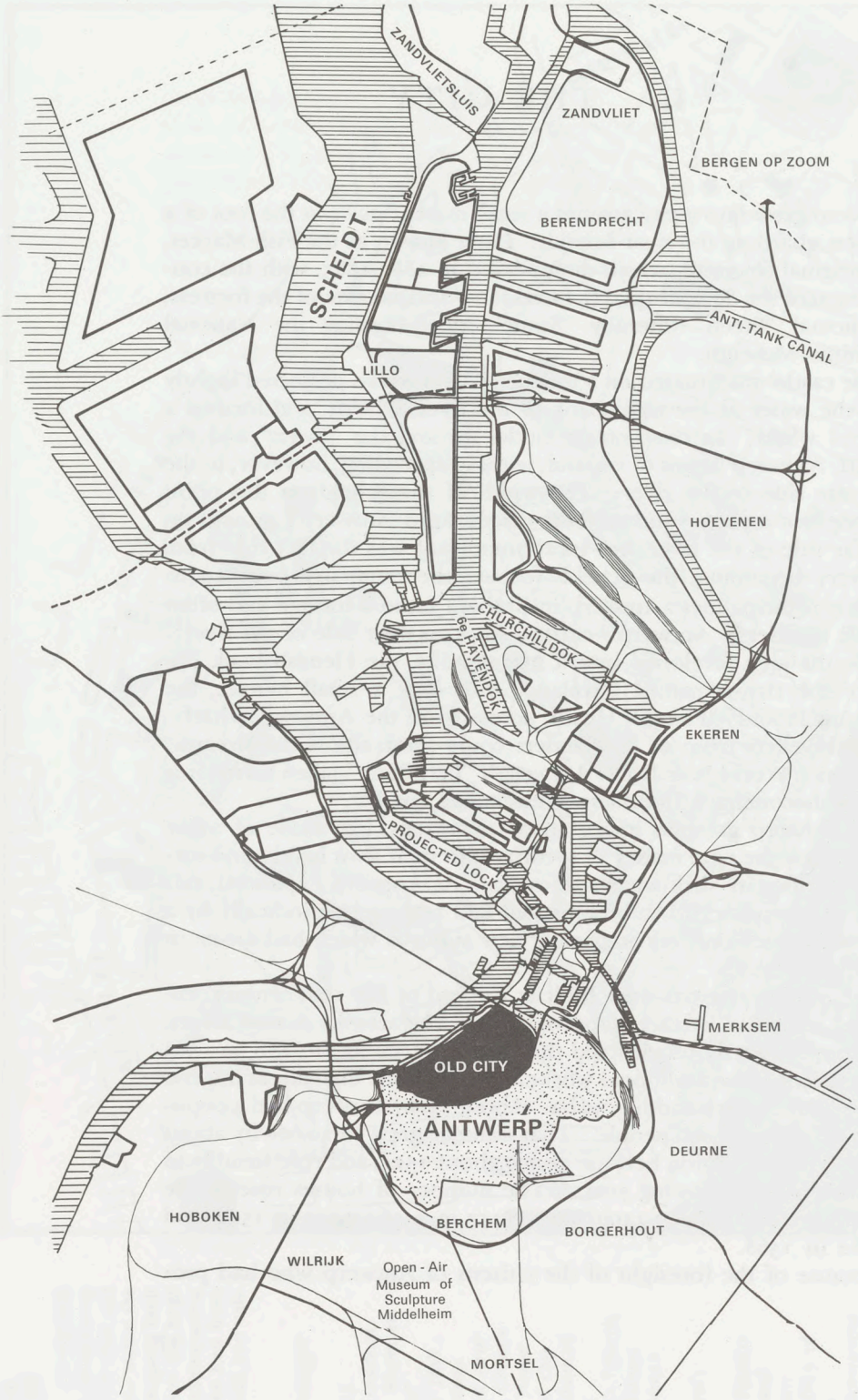
Antwerp grew into a city around a small market-place at the foot of a fortress guarding the river Scheldt. Later known as the Fish-Market, the original townsite (which disappeared in 1880-1885, with the construction of the Scheldt-quays), faced the principal gate of the fortress, the actual "Steen" (literally "Stone") now housing the National Maritime Museum.

The castle was situated on a tongue of land which projected slightly into the water at the right bank of the river Scheldt, and formed a natural wharf. In concentrate circles around the "Steen" and the Wharf, Antwerp began to expand, without spreading, however, to the opposite side of the river. The width of the Scheldt at this point —some 500 meters—undoubtedly discouraged Antwerp's growth on the far side of the river, but more important was the fact that from the very beginning, the Scheldt formed the boundary between to feuding principalities : Antwerp in Brabant faced a foreign and often hostile Flanders. Antwerp's citizens stuck to their side of the river. While the city developed into a megalopolis, the Flemish bank opposite the city remained farmland, with only a small hamlet, the "Vlaams Hoofd" (Flemish Head), across from the Antwerp Wharf. Here travellers from or to Flanders could ferry across the stream. Only since World War II has Antwerp's "Left Bank" taken form ; it is rapidly becoming a flourishing residential quarter.

As Antwerp grew in importance, its citizens, like those of other towns, took the vital matter of security into their own hands, and surrounded the city with walls and moats. As Antwerp expanded, this band of ramparts had to be loosened and replaced periodically by a new and larger one, encompassing new suburbs which had arisen in the meantime.

The oldest ramparts were built at the end of the 12th century, enclosing about 40 hectares (approximately 100 acres). A new effort, about 1300, nearly quadrupled the fortified area (up to 156 ha : 385 acres), while some additional works at the east-side did gain at the end of the 14th century another 50 ha. About 1400, Antwerp had a population of some 15,000 people. That number grew to 40,000 by about 1500. The population became 53,000 about 1525, and rose steadily to 100,000 in the following years. The number of houses rose at the same rate : 2,407 about 1400 ; then 6,153 in 1496 ; 7,943 in 1526, and 11,482 in 1568.

Because of the foresight of the citizens of Antwerp who had pro-



Antwerp today

moted expansion in the 13th-14th centuries, the great population-explosion of the 16th century could easily be absorbed within the walls that had been built about 1400: fortunes were won by real estate speculators who destroyed the large gardens and open spaces and crammed them with buildings.

By accident, a new enlargement of the city's fortified area was decided. In 1542, the army of the duke of Gelre unexpectedly appeared before Antwerp's gates. That army retired after some days but the alarm had been a warning. Government and city authorities discovered to their dismay that the old medieval walls and towers had crumbled into ruins. If it had not been for the belligerent attitude of its citizenry, who mobilized to face the invader, the greatest city of Western Europe could easily have been stormed and plundered. A repetition of the threat, however, was not wanted; new ramparts were erected between 1543 and 1545, incorporating the latest refinements of military engineering. These ramparts have disappeared, but their outlines can be discovered in the large avenues which encircle the old city in a wide arc, from north to south.

The authorities took advantage of the occasion to enclose another 133 acres of swampy terrain to the North of the city. It is not clear whether land speculation was anticipated. If that were the case, they had made a miscalculation: in this newly won "Nieuwstad" (New City) only a few buildings and houses were built. It remained largely an open ground. However, this area would play an important role in Antwerp's economic life. The city was primarily a river harbor. Sea and river ships had to be loaded and unloaded at the great "Werf" (Wharf) near the "Steen," and at some smaller quays along the river. The rapid increase of traffic had caused the quays to become heavily overcrowded. In the "Nieuwstad" a network of canals was constructed to accommodate the smaller barges and river boats, leaving the Scheldt facilities to the larger seafaring vessels. If the "Nieuwstad" did not become a residential quarter, its docking possibilities greatly improved the city's commercial activities.

A final enlargement of the city was the least agreeable to its citizens. The Spanish authorities, after the crushing of the Calvinist rebellion in 1567, started immediately building a citadel at the Southside of the town. The outer bastions were integrated into the ramparts so as to help defend the city, but from the inner bastions, guns were pointed at the residential quarters—to keep the citizens quiet.

Feverish construction in the 16th century completely changed the face of Antwerp. A visitor of about 1500, coming back in 1600, would have found a new city, with but only a few recognizable spots. After Antwerp's 1585 capitulation to Spain, half of the population

(Protestants as well as Catholics) emigrated. Life became quieter in the once hectic and overcrowded city, and construction slowed down. But many a rich citizen could still afford to build a patrician's house or help to construct a church in the new baroque style.

Later generations have torn down large parts of what their 16th and 17th century forebears had built. Landmarks, however, still remain for the modern tourist. To cite only the most important : the gothic Cathedral with its spire (finished in 1518) ; the gothic Saint--James and Saint-Andrew churches, both finished in the early 16th century ; the baroque Carolus Borromeus church—a masterpiece in its kind ; the "Steen" (now the National Maritime Museum) ; the gothic "Vleeshuis" (Butchers' Hall) of the beginning years of the 16th century (now housing the Museum of Applied Arts of the city) ; the Town Hall, one of the first monumental Renaissance-constructions in the Netherlands (1561-1564) ; the houses of Plantin and Rubens, both now a Museum.

Construction-techniques in the 16th-17th centuries prohibited high buildings. Antwerp, in its Golden Age, was not covered with sky-scrapers : the feverish building boom of the 16th century largely consisted in crowding one or two storied houses more closely against each other. In the 16th century, however, the very wealthy showed a predilection for slender towers, reaching sometimes as high as eighty feet, with an enlargement at the top. The practical value of these towers was of small importance, but to the passers-by they indicated the wealth of their owners ; they formed, consequently, an important status-symbol. Some of these 16th century "Spanish towers" can still be seen in the older parts of the city. Wooden houses have long been forbidden for fear of fire, but wooden facades remained common for centuries. A single one, in an old street of the old city, has escaped fire and axe till today.

Life in Antwerp in the Golden Age would certainly seem dull and primitive to men of modern civilized countries. Many houses, in the 16th century, did only have partly paneled windows. When the temperature dropped, or rain battered the facades, the shutters had to be closed—darkening the room even in full daylight. The heating was in open hearths with peat—which produced much smoke but few calories.

These hardships, however, were common to contemporary Europe, and those 16th and 17th century visitors who put down their impressions on paper all agreed that Antwerp was one of the most pleasant cities to live in.

"Ommegangen" (religious pageants, but very often with laical elements) and "kermissen" (feasts, generally in connection with the

patron-saint of a given church) and occasionally the ceremonial entry of a prince or governor, attracted crowds from afar. Lent was an occasion for rowdy amusement ; weddings saw gargantuan feasts ; the markets were always overcrowded. In the taverns, which dotted the city in countless numbers, nobody remained thirsty when he had some pennies. The amateurs of military drill could look at the exercises of the military guilds. The "stoven" (bathing houses) and dancing-schools formed an attraction for many. Sports-minded people could remain fit in fencing schools, or compete in bowling-alleys and hand-ball games. On warm summer-Sundays, half of the population went picknicking in the meadows and bushes of the surrounding countryside. In winter, when the ice got thick enough, skating on the Scheldt or on the moats was a popular pastime... Life was not bad in Antwerp in its Golden Age.

LEON VOET

Some of the exhibited items represent scenes of Antwerp's turbulent history in the 16th-17th centuries. They generally have a special documentary value, as well.

HISTORY

Nos.	96-103	F. Hogenberg, *Scenes of Antwerp's history,* from 1566 till 1585.
No.	154	P. van der Borcht, *The Archdukes Albert and Isabella entering the city*, 1599.
No.	124	A. Verhoeven, *The battle at the Blokkersdijk to the North of Antwerp*, 1605.
No.	13	Anonymous Master, *Proclamation of the Treaty of Munster at the Great Market in Antwerp*, 1648.
No.	104	W. Hollar, *Proclamation of the Treaty of Munster at the Great Market in Antwerp*, 1648.

ICONOGRAPHY

No.	91	H. Cock, *View of Antwerp*, 1557.
No.	92	Melchisedech van Hoorn, *Three views of Antwerp*, 1559.
No.	93	P. van Overbeke, *Map of Antwerp*, 1568.
No.	94	P. Huys, *Skating on the moats near the Imperial Gate*, about 1560.
No.	95	J. Hoefnagel, *Ice-joy on the river Scheldt*, 1563.
No.	117	Woodcut representing the Church of Our Lady (Cathedral), 1567.
No.	147	Engraving representing the Church of Our Lady (Cathedral), 1581.
No.	14	Anonymous master, *View of the Antwerp Jesuit Church and the Professed House*.
Nos.	152-153	Decorations at the Entry of Archduke Ernest, 1594.
Nos.	155-156	Decorations at the Entry of Archdukes Albert and Isabella, 1599.
No.	105	J. Bouttats, *The Ommegang*, 1684.

III. ANTWERP METROPOLIS OF THE ARTS

1500-1650

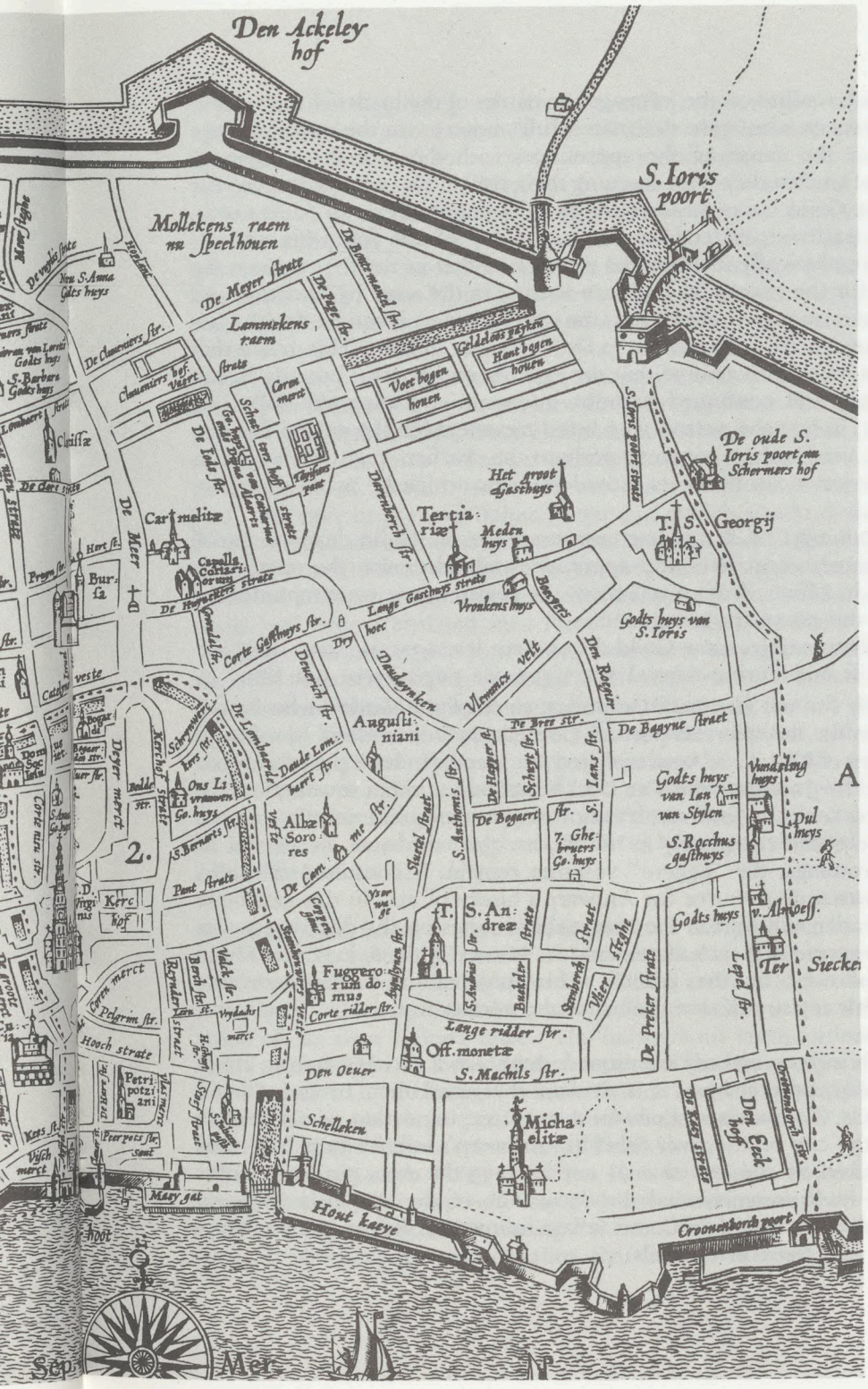
Although Antwerp's meteoric rise as a major art center in the 16th century paralleled her development as the economic hub of western Europe, one must not suppose that before 1500 this city was artistically dormant. As far back as 1352 work had begun on Antwerp Cathedral, a large-scale creative enterprise that involved architects, sculptors, and other artists as well. This same (14th) century saw the founding in Antwerp of the Guild of Saint-Lucas which included painters, sculptors, stained-glass workers together with other artists and artisans. An official document, dated 1382, refers to this Guild, and in 1442 the City Council recognized its existence by bestowing special privileges on it. One concerned the right to pursue an art-related profession in Antwerp : it was necessary to be accepted as a member of the Guild, as well as to be a citizen, before being allowed to set up a workshop and sell works of art in the city.

Before 1500 the names of several hundred artists and art craftsmen were listed in the "liggere," the rolls of the Guild, which have been preserved. The only important name surviving oblivion is Joos van Wassenhoven, who has been identified as Giusto da Guanto (Joos van Gent), known for the paintings he made at the court of the Duke of Urbino. He became a full master in Antwerp in 1460 ; four years later he left this city to settle in Ghent before travelling to Italy. It is not known what works he completed in Antwerp. The same is true for nearly all the artists mentioned before 1500 in the record of the Saint-Lucas Guild ; only very few works of art of this early period can be traced back and connected with any of these names.

Before giving a short survey of the development of the arts during "Antwerp's Golden Age," it is necessary to dwell further on the above mentioned "liggere" of the Saint-Lucas Guild, since it is the main archival source for the history of art of this city, not only for the early beginnings but also for the later centuries.

The first volume of this register covers the years 1453 to 1616 ; the second from 1629 until 1793-94, when the Guild was dissolved. For the years 1607-1628, the rolls are lost, but fortunately surviving accounts of the guild in other documents permit us to learn the names of members for that period. For each year, in the registers con-

Map with the monuments and important streets of 16th century Antwerp
(published in Carolus Scribanus, *Origines Antverpiensium*, Antwerp, Officina Plantiniana, 1610).


Den Ackeley hof
S. Ioris poort
Mollekens raem nu speelhouen
De Meyer strate
Lammekens raem
De Clauenieers str.
Clauenieers hof
Voet bogen houen
Hant bogen houen
Geldeloos payken
De oude S. Ioris poort nu Schermers hof
Het groot Gasthuys
Tertiariæ
Meden huys
T. S. Georgij
Carmelitæ
Capella Cortariorum
De Meer
Burſa
De Huyckers strate
Lange Gasthuys strate
Vronkens huys
Godts huys van S. Ioris
Corte Gasthuys str.
Dry hoec
Daudaynken
Vleminx velt
Den Roegier
Augustiniani
De Bree str.
De Bagyne straet
Godts huys van Ian van Stylen
Vundeling huys
Dul huys
S. Rocchus gasthuys
Albæ Sorores
De Cammer str.
Sluetel straet
S. Anthonis str.
De Bogaert str.
7. Ghebruers Go. huys
Pant strate
Kerchof
T. S. Andreæ
Godts huys
v. Almoess.
Ter Siecken
Fuggerorum domus
Corte ridder str.
Lange ridder str.
Off. monetæ
S. Machils str.
De Preker strate
Lepel str.
Hooch strate
Petri potziani
Den Oeuer
Schelleken
Michaelitæ
Den Eeck hoff
Maey gat
Hout kaeye
Croonenborch poort
Sep. Mer.

cerned, we find on the left page the names of the artists of the various professions who were designated full masters ; on the opposite page appear the names of the apprentices with those of the masters in whose studios they were learning their craft. The administrative year of the Guild starts on October 18—the annual Feast of Saint Lucas, their patron—and ends on the same day of the following year.

Parenthetically it should be mentioned that in the first volume the data for the years 1454-1531 are written in the same handwriting and ink, and on paper which from the watermark on it can be dated 1520-30 (we owe this information to Dr. C. Van de Velde). This means that it is a mistake to assume that the existing register was actually begun in 1454 and continued without interruption during the following years ; in fact the person who listed members for the period prior to 1531 used other sources, perhaps an earlier register (which is unknown to us) or notes (now lost) from which he made transcriptions.

From 1531 on, it became customary for the Guild deans to enroll the names of masters and apprentices added during the terms they were in office ; from 1531, then, the registers are contemporaneous with the members mentioned.

Unfortunately, some Guild deans were less accurate than their colleagues and during several years registry pages were not filled in. Luckily for us, Abraham Grapheus, clerk of the Guild—who is well known for the splendid portrait Cornelis de Vos made of him (Royal Gallery of Fine Arts, Antwerp), and who seems to have posed also as a model for Jordaens and Van Dyck—made an attempt to complete the missing series. However, it is not easy to determine whether or not he succeeded completely in his efforts. Just the same, in spite of its shortcomings, the "liggere" volumes remain, if consulted critically, the outstanding source for Antwerp's hisory of art. In this catalogue the reader will find in the biographical notes on the different artists here represented such statements as "Master in the Saint-Lucas Guild in...(followed by the year)." This information is based on the valuable registry of that professional confraternity, the Guild of Saint-Lucas.

Although, as already mentioned, there was a thriving artistic life in Antwerp, before 1500, it is evident that until then Bruges, Ghent, Brussels, Tournai and Louvain were more important as art centers than the city on the river Scheldt. Antwerp's inferiority before 1500 is marked by the fact that as late as 1493 the Antwerp Saint-Lucas Guild itself commissioned the decoration of the chapel in Antwerp Cathedral to Colijn de Coter, (a late follower of Roger van der Weyden) who lived in Brussels.

But in the beginning of the sixteenth century the situation changed. Antwerp took from Bruges the leadership in commerce and financial affairs, and soon became the metropolis of the arts of Western Europe as well. Next to business people artists of many nationalities were attracted by the immense wealth and prosperity of the city. For the "Golden Age" period, we find in the "liggere" a great number of artists who had come from all over Europe to practice their skills, and Albrecht Durer's diary of his journey to the Netherlands contains valuable references to the cosmopolitan character of artistic activity in Antwerp during the first decades of the sixteenth century. He mentions, e.g., among the artists he met during his stay in Antwerp in 1520-21, men from Bruges, from the Walloon part of the Netherlands, from Holland, and also a sculptor, Jehan Monet, from Lorraine. Besides painters, sculptors, and engravers, practitioners of various industrial arts also established themselves here. Already in 1512, an Italian potter and glazier, Guido di Savino, or Guido Andries (so his name was translated into Dutch), from Castel Durante near Urbino, was active in Antwerp, and in 1531 there is also recorded a Venetian ceramicist of the famous majolica works, whose name had been translated into Pieter Frans van Venedegen.

All these artists, native to so many countries, brought to Antwerp the most diversified artistic concepts. The most varied regional interpretations of the late gothic style can be discerned in their works, sometimes mixed with contemporary Renaissance features, either imported directly from Italy, or imported indirectly, by prints, e.g., by Albrecht Durer. This mixture of the most disparate stylistic tendencies appears conspicuously, but sometimes strangely in the work of numerous, mostly anonymous, painters known as the early Antwerp Mannerists.

A certain eclecticism is also characteristic of the painting by Quinten Massys (*c.* 1466-1530), native of Louvain, but working in Antwerp after 1491, where he soon became the leading artist. Unlike the Antwerp early Mannerists, Massys succeeded in giving his works the hallmark of his own refined taste. His harmonious compositions, the finely rounded heads, the sculptural aspects of his figures, and the delicate colors in his paintings, indicate that he had left behind him the devices of the old Netherlandish School of the 15th century without, however, completely breaking away from them.

Excepting Quinten Massys and Jan Gossaert—who, however, did not live long in Antwerp—the late gothic tradition remains predominant in many artistic fields during the first decades of the 16th century. It is mainly in ornamentation that the new Renaissance trend

makes its appearance. The elegant spire of the tower of Antwerp Cathedral, built after the designs of Herman and Domien de Waghemaekere, and finished in 1518, is late gothic in its conception, but some of its rounded decorative motifs announce a new stylistic feeling. The same can be observed in the numerous altar-pieces carved in wood, many of which were exported in these years as far as Sweden in the North and Spain in the South. In painting, also, the late gothic tradition was still predominant. But a certain restlessness in the forms, especially in the fluttering draperies, a more frequent appearance of the nude and secular subjects, and, not least, the emancipation of genre and landscapepaintings as distinct specialities, are pointing to a new cultural context departing from the serene and modest spiritual climate of the fifteenth century. From 1540 on, a step is taken toward the acceptance of genuine "classic" Renaissance forms—those corresponding to contemporary Italian standards of art. In this respect Peter Coecke (1502-1550) must be mentioned, for he contributed significantly to this development with the help of printing. In 1539 he published a summarized translation of the well-known treatise *De Architectura* by Vitruvius, followed (between 1539 and 1550) by different translations of Sebastiano Serlio's writings on architecture, in Dutch, German, and French. These illustrated publications paved the way for the definite entry of the Renaissance antique or classical revival ("all' antica") in architecture and the decorative arts.

At the same time Peter Coecke made an important contribution to the development of grotesque ornamentation in the Netherlands. Grotesque motifs, which are of antique Roman origin (Golden House of Nero—Domus Aurea) appeared shortly after 1515 in paintings of the early Antwerp Mannerists. But, about 1540 strapwork motifs of varying features were introduced, and combined with the most fantastic human forms. In this way grotesque ornamentation received a new and distinct "Antwerp" outlook. About the same time Cornelis Floris (1514-1575) and Cornelis Bos (*c.* 1506-1556) showed an astonishing inventiveness in designing such grotesque ornamentation, which was successfully broadcast all over Western and Northern Europe by means of prints. We find grotesque ornamentation in pieces of furniture, wall tapestries, ceramics, and other industrial arts. An early application to sculpture may be seen in the carved panels and decorative supports in wood of the facade of the house *de Moelnere* (1549), at present in the Vleeshuis Museum in Antwerp.

Although during the first half of the century the influence of the Renaissance was mainly to be felt in ornamental forms and in adapting new elements of style to the surviving late-gothic tradition, after

about 1550 we discover the appearance of a genuine "classic" Renaissance style. In this respect the architecture and sculpture of Cornelis Floris are of a special interest. We already mentioned his name with reference to grotesque motifs, which he also applied in his monumental works. But in these more ambitious endeavors he made a clear distinction between structure and ornament. It is evident that Italian examples deeply influenced his art, typefied by a restrained monumentality, but it is also true that his style is sometimes marked by a typical Antwerp accent. The impressive Town Hall in Antwerp, built between 1561 and 1564, for which Cornelis Floris made the final designs, recalls the horizontal display in the facades of Florentine *palazzi*, while the vertically accentuated central parts appear to us as a translation into Renaissance form of the gable of a gothic house. Cornelis Floris is most "classical" in style and at his best in his designs of memorial tablets, tombs, and other monumental church furnishings, in which sculpture plays an important part, as e.g. his lofty tabernacle in St. Leonard in Zoutleeuw (Léau), dated 1550-1552, in the free-standing monumental tomb of King Christian III of Denmark in Roskilde Cathedral (1568-1576), and in his harmonious wood-screen in the cathedral at Tournai (1570-1573). His influence was enormous in Germany and Denmark and can be traced, even after 1600, to the Spanish-Portuguese peninsula, as well as to England and France.

The same artistic conception "all 'antica" underlays the paintings of Frans Floris (*c.* 1516-1570), Cornelis' brother. During his stay in Italy (1541-47) he was much impressed by Michelangelo's *Last Judgment*, and by the achievements of the leading Mannerist painters, as well. In most of his altarpieces and mythologies he shows a complete mastery of the Italian artistic conceptions prevailing in his time. He renewed the art of painting in the Netherlands by introducing genuine Renaissance forms, adopting contemporary Italian standards, and also developing a Mannerist outlook. Marten de Vos (1532-1603), his younger contemporary, added to the monumentality of the Floris style a coloring of Venetian flavor, while Otto van Veen (Venius) (1556-1629), who became Rubens' teacher, developed it into a cooler classicism.

But about the same time that Frans Floris, following his return from Italy, was making a deliberate effort to confer to his painting a contemporary Italian style, another artist, Peter Bruegel the Elder (before 1535-1569), the greatest genius of his age, developed a completely different style which stood in radical contrast to it. Although he had been to Italy, he refused to assimilate the Italian style. In fact, in his own way he continued the old tradition of the arts of the Netherlands. It is indeed possible to consider him as the most accom-

plished representative of the "indigenous" Netherlandish undercurrent, which manifested itself in the most genuine way in landscape and genre-painting, which, as mentioned before, became two distinct specialities at the beginning of the century.

Peter Bruegel the Elder realized at the same time the most personal and supreme achievement within the Hieronymus Bosch-tradition, which was pursued in Antwerp also by such artists as Jan Wellens Cock (master in 1503 ; died in 1525), Jan Mandijn of Haarlem (1500-*c.* 1560) and Peter Huys (1519-1584), painters of cabinet pieces representing rather fantastic subjects mostly situated in landscapes. It is necessary to add here that Bruegel's art ranks far higher than that of his predecessors, and also of his numerous successors, who followed in his footsteps even through the first decades of the seventeenth century. Peter Bruegel the Elder as well as Frans Floris, and many other artists worked as designers for Hieronymus Cock (*c.* 1507-1570), the well-known engraver and publisher of prints who opened in 1548 a shop in Antwerp, called "The Four Winds" (De Vier Winden). Actually, this label announced a programme : to spread prints of the most varied styles by different artists all over the world. Hieronymus Cock, as well as (somewhat later) Christopher Plantin, contributed enormously to the efflorescence of the art of engraving in Antwerp and in the Netherlands.

Seen in retrospect, the entire development of the arts in Antwerp in the 16th century appears as a continuous and laborious confrontation of the national tradition with the achievements of the Italian Renaissance, leading to art work of the most varied kinds. It is possible to discern two main trends. The first one, which we could call the "Italianate" or "Romanist" tendency, made a deliberate effort to follow the great Italian examples, and create a "modern art," in accordance with the new humanistic concepts of life and style of the age. The second one, the "indigenous" trend, is represented by artists who rejecting the "Romanism" of their contemporaries, and less ambitious than these, went their own way in a further development of the national Netherlandish tradition. However, the two tendencies can not be separated too sharply. Representatives of the "indigenous" tendency are not always immune from Italian influences, and even those who try to adopt the Italian idiom, speak it with a strong Antwerp accent. Frans Floris, Marten de Vos and many other "Romanists" produce, besides classical revival historical paintings, small panels and portraits that truly continue the best of the national tradition. And, as the development of the grotesque shows us, it was even possible that motifs of antique origin, imported from Italy, were interpreted in a new way, showing a greater variety of forms and

gaining a more imaginative outlook than their original prototypes.

The complete integration of Flemish vision and Italian style was achieved in the seventeenth century, in the most personal and genial way, by Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640). The eclectism of his beginnings links him with many of his predecessors. He surveyed the whole artistic tradition, including antique as well as old Netherlandish and Italian art, before he recreated it into a style of unquestioned originality, in which the Flemish realism and the Italian sense of *grandezza* and idealization fuse into an harmonious, colorful unity. With him the Baroque makes its triumphal entry in the Southern Netherlands.

Next to Rubens, Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641) and Jacob Jordaens (1593-1678) are the leading Flemish masters of the first half of the seventeenth century—the glories of the Antwerp "school." Although there is a strong affinity between them—Van Dyck and Jordaens in their early years were deeply influenced by Rubens—they have, each of them, their own temperament and individual characteristics. Rubens' style is marked by a sense of heroic greatness and is at the same time the expression of an incomparably vivid imagination. Van Dyck's art reflects an innate aristocratic refinement. Jordaens has apparently inherited from the middle and lower classes of society in Antwerp his own joviality of vision and approach.

The process of specialization in painting that had already begun shortly after 1500, develops further in the seventeenth century. Rubens himself contributed very much to it, by calling on the assistance of Jan Wildens (1584/86-1653) for landscapes to be added in the background of some of his paintings, of Frans Snyders (1579-1657) and Paul de Vos (*c.* 1596-1678) for animals and still lifes, of Jan Brueghel I (1568-1625) for flowers and landscapes of a more intimate character. This collaboration also contributed largely to the adoption of a Baroque style in those different specialities. Rubens' influence, however, was not confined to painting, it was also important in engraving and book illustration. Furthermore, his designs for wall tapestries and goldsmithwork largely contributed to the renewal of style in these different branches of industrial art.

The Flemish Baroque, characterized by its vibrant vitality, its taste for the grandiose, its vehement dynamic power and its richness of pictural ornamentation, marks also the architecture of the period. Here, also, Rubens contributed to its introduction, mainly through his collaboration with the Jesuit fathers Franciscus Aguilon and Huyssens in the design of the Antwerp Jesuit Church, at present St. Carolus Borromeus (1615-1621), famous for its rich ornamented facade and its beautiful tower. Among the principal examples of secular Baroque

buildings should be mentioned the house of Rubens (*c.* 1610-1620), with its impressive portico and garden pavilion, which the painter represented sometimes in the background of his pictures ; the house of Jordaens (1641), designed by this cheerful master himself ; the guild house of the Tanners (1644) on the Market Square, and the Delbeke house (1647) in the Keizerstraat. In the old center of Antwerp we also find today a great number of so-called "Spanish" gateways and doors, decorated with niches and volutes, bearing witness to the sound and richly ornamented style of the age.

In sculpture, the adoption of the Baroque required somewhat more time than in painting. The adoption of "pictorial" forms of the new style made a new technical approach necessary, which the sculptors could not achieve at once. Also here Rubens' influence was highly important, through the designs he made for sculpture. The sculptor with whom he collaborated mostly was Hans van Mildert (1588-1638). Although this artist did not always succeed in his translations of the great master's models into marble and stone, he was nevertheless the first to achieve real Baroque sculpture in the style of Rubens when he carved the Madonna and the angels above the pediment of the high-altar of the Antwerp Jesuit Church (1621). Also Robert (master of the guild in Antwerp in 1585, died there in 1636) and Hans Colyns de Nole (master of the guild in Antwerp in 1596, died there in 1624) worked sometimes after Rubens' designs, but their style remained for a long time rather traditional.

Although he was not an Antwerp master, we should not fail to mention Jörg Petel (1601/02-1634), native from Weilheim (Bavaria), who came on several occasions to Antwerp, where he was in close contact with Rubens. He carved some beautiful ivory pieces from designs of the great master. The young Lucas Faydherbe (1617-1697) of Mechlin lived for more than three years (1637-1640) in Rubens' house, where he also made sculptures in ivory, as well as statues in marble and stone, in a style strongly influenced by the artistic concepts of the painter.

However, the great efflorescence of high Baroque sculpture began only after Rubens' death (1640), when Faydherbe and Artus Quellin the Elder (1609-1668)—who went in 1650 to live in Amsterdam, where he was commissioned to provide the sculptural decoration for the new Town Hall in that prosperous Dutch city—Peter Verbrugghen (1615-1686), and so many other sculptors carved the innumerable richly decorated altars, choirstalls, wood-screens, confessionals, and statues in marble and wood, which are still so plentiful in the old churches of Antwerp, and elsewhere in Belgium.

Industrial art also flourished in the seventeenth century. The Ant-

werp cabinets in ebony and rose-wood (often inlaid with tortoise shell, or decorated on drawers and doors with painted scenes) were exported far and wide. This was also true of wall tapestries made in Antwerp and Brussels, for which Rubens and Jordaens sometimes supplied the designs, and of goldsmith-work, embroidery, and lace-work. Records concerning Antwerp art-dealers, preserved in the city-archives, prove that they found markets for the works of fine and applied art in Spain and Portugal, as well as in the Northern Netherlands, France, England, Germany and Austria, and even in Latin America.

One branch of industrial art especially should be mentioned, since its achievements were in great demand all over Western Europe : the manufacturing of harpsichords. The technical refinement and the beautiful sound of these musical instruments, mainly created by members of the Ruckers family, made Antwerp the great center in this field. The founder of the "dynasty," Hans Ruckers I (died 1598), native from Mechlin, settled in Antwerp about 1570. His two sons, Joannes II (1578-1643) and Andreas I (1579-after 1645), his two grandsons Andreas II (1607-before 1667), and Joannes Couchet (1611-1655), and the latter's descendants, produced an impressive number of harpsichords of which many were exported abroad.

This short, and incomplete survey of artistic activity in Antwerp in the 16th and the first half of the 17th centuries has shown, I trust, that this period was really a "Golden Age" for this city, where many monuments in the streets and in the squares, and countless works of art preserved in old churches and in museums, still bear witness to its former efflorescence and creative power.

FRANS BAUDOUIN

IV. PAINTING AND DRAWING

It turned out to be impossible to present in this exhibition more than a sample of the enormous and varied productivity of the "Antwerp school" of painting and drawing during the 16th and first half of the 17th centuries. The extreme fragility of most of the paintings of that period, especially those on panels, would not allow the great risks of a long journey. Furthermore, it will be understood that most of the owners were reluctant to part with their masterpieces for a term of two or more years. Just the same, some of the great names are represented here, either in painting or in drawing, and sometimes in both, while works of less-known artists illlustrate major trends which we indicated in our short introduction : "Antwerp, Metropolis of the Arts."

In that brief survey we mentioned Quinten Massys (*c.* 1466-1530) as the leading artist during the first decades of the 16th century. While the old-fashioned late gothic tradition (already mixed with new ornamental forms) still predominated, e.g. in the paintings of the early Antwerp Mannerists, Massys introduced a new trend, which clearly announces the Renaissance style. He was also the first to create genre scenes as a separate branch of painting. It is true of course that already the earlier Netherlandish painters of the 15th century included marginal scenes from daily life in their religious pictures. But Massys presented them as in their own right. Many important artists followed his example : Marinus van Reymerswael, Jan Sanders van Hemessen (1509-1560, or somewhat later), Jan Massys (*c.* 1509-1575) —who, however, was influenced by Parmegianino and the "Ecole de Fontainebleau" in his mythological and allegorical paintings—Pieter Aertsen (*c.* 1508-1575), Joachim Beuckelaer (*c.* 1535-1574), and others, as well.

About the same time, another trend can be noticed—that of the followers of Hieronymus Bosch. They painted religious and genre subjects of rather fantastic appearance, generally situated in vast landscapes. Jan Wellens (de) Cock (1503 : master in Antwerp, died in 1525), his sons Hieronymus (1507-1570) and Matthijs Cock (*c.* 1509-1548), Jan Mandijn from Haarlem (1502-*c.* 1560) and Peter Huys (1519-1584) are the leading representatives of this current. Their art forms a link between Hieronymus Bosch and Peter Bruegel the Elder, the greatest artistic genius of the Netherlands in the 16th century.

Not only genre, but also landscapes became a distinct speciality of painting in that period. Joachim Patinir (*c.* 1480-1524), who collaborated sometimes with Quinten Massys, Herry met de Bles (*c.* 1485-

1548), and somewhat later Cornelis Massys (*c.* 1508-*c.* 1557) and the already mentioned Hieronymus and Matthijs Cock painted landscapes in which the religious subject is completely subordinated to their panoramic representation of the world. Examples of this trend include : a small landscape painting attributed to Cornelis Massys (No. 1), a drawing ascribed to Matthijs or Hieronymus Cock (No. 15), and another one by an anonymous Antwerp artist (No. 16).

In his paintings Peter Bruegel the Elder (before 1535-1569) unified landscape and genre, giving them a grandiose, cosmic outlook and a more expressive interpretation of reality. The great master himself is not represented in the exhibition, but his influence appears in an excellent copy of one of his compositions (No. 3), till now attributed to his son Peter Brueghel the Younger. Recently it has been ascribed to Peter Balten (master in 1540, died about 1598), an interesting contemporary of the master who imitated his manner in genre scenes. The already mentioned Peter Brueghel II (1564-1638) was a skillful copyist of his father's pictures and painted in his style genre scenes of his own invention, prolonging thus the Bruegel tradition even till the first decades of the 17th century. In the same vein many other artists can be mentioned, as e.g. Martin van Cleve (1527-1581) and Peter Brueghel III (1589- ?).

In landscape painting the influence of Peter Bruegel the Elder also lasted very long. However, the cosmic greatness of his art was generally abandoned for a more intimate presentation. In this connection Cornelis van Dalem (master in 1556), Gillis (*c.* 1535-1598) and Frans Mostaert (1535-1560), Hans Bol (1554-1593), Jacob Grimmer (1525-1590), Abel Grimmer (1570-1618), and many others are to be mentioned. Although still related to the Bruegel-tradition in the realistic representation of details, Gillis van Coninxlo (1544-1606) and Matthijs (1550-1585) and Paul Bril (1554-1626) independently developed a new tendency in landscape-painting : giving their scenes a somewhat more idealized and heroic outlook. As an example of this development the visitor will find in the exhibit a drawing attributed to Paul Bril (No. 22), a painter from Antwerp who settled in Rome, where he built up a successful career. During his travels in Italy Jan Brueghel the Elder (1568-1625)—the so-called "velvet"-Brueghel —also painted idealized landscapes (No. 4) almost in the style of Paul Bril, but after his return to Antwerp, his style became gradually more realistic (No. 24). The art of his contemporary Joost de Momper (1564-1635), with whom he sometimes collaborated, forms a link between the Bruegel-tradition and the dynamic and epic conception of landscape by Rubens (No. 23).

Until now, we have followed tendencies in 16th century art, which

had been more or less developing within the "national" tradition, appearing mainly in genre and landscape painting. But there is a second trend, that of the "Italianists" or "Romanists," who, following Italian examples, deliberately tried to introduce in the Netherlands a real "classic" Renaissance style. Apart from Jan Gossaert (*c.* 1480-after 1534) in the first decades of the 16th century, who didn't remain in Antwerp long enough to exert any significant influence, this trend manifests itself mainly in the second half of the century. Frans Floris (*c.* 1516-1570) was the first to achieve this renewal in painting. A younger colleague, Marten de Vos (1532-1603), followed his lead, giving the monumentality of the new style a more colorful outlook. This artist is represented here by one painting (No. 2) and four characteristic drawings (Nos. 17-20). Within the same trend, Ambrosius Francken (1541-1618), Adam van Noort (1562-1641), Otto van Veen (Venius) (1556-1629) and even Abraham Janssens (1573/74-1632) form a transition between the late 16th century "Classicism" and the early Baroque of the following age. More elegantly Mannerist in style, and influenced by Venetian examples and especially by Rottenhammer, are the paintings and drawings (No. 25) by Hendrik van Balen (1575-1632), who became one of the leading artists in Antwerp before Rubens' return from Italy in 1608.

The glorious efflorescence of Baroque art in the 17th century is very well reflected in a small selection of paintings and drawings, including works by the leading masters : Rubens, Van Dyck and Jordaens. Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640), the great painter of Baroque altarpieces, but also "the perfect artist to give form and substance to what has been aptly termed the theme of secular apotheosis" (J.S. Held), is represented by one of his sketches for the ceiling paintings of Banqueting House, Whitehall (No. 5) and by two splendid drawings (Nos. 26 and 167). In the beautiful drawing by Van Dyck (1599-1641), included in the exhibition (No. 31), a design for an early religious painting (a composition somewhat conceived in Rubens' style) is worked out in a nervous and refined handling of line, an expression of the artist's personal temperament. The broad, decorative and colorful art of Jacob Jordaens (1593-1678) is represented by two paintings (Nos. 6 and 7) and two drawings (Nos. 29 and 30).

As in so many other fields, Rubens contributed much to the renewal of interest in different subject matter specialities in painting. Under his influence, e.g. still life and animal painting received a more dynamic and decorative Baroque outlook. Beautiful drawings by Frans Snyders (1579-1657), Paul de Vos (*c.* 1596-1678) and Jan Fyt (1611-1661), the leading masters in this field, attract us by the firmness and vividness of their draughtmanship (Nos. 27, 28 and 33). Baroque

in its dramatic appearance is also the fine, colored drawing representing a *Sea-storm* (No. 34) by Bonaventura Peeters (1614-1652), the most admired sea-painter of his age.

Among the numerous successors of Rubens as painters of large altarpieces and mythological and allegorical subjects, Cornelis Schut (1597-1655), Erasmus Quellin (1607-1678) and Theodoor van Thulden (1606-*c.* 1676) are outstanding (Nos. 10, 12, 11). As they had been assistants of Rubens in their early years, it comes as no surprise that, as far as compositions and motifs are concerned, they generally followed his grandious example even through the later decades. But, at the same time we observe in their works, already before Rubens' death in 1640, an elegance of form and a painterly refinement, which shows more similarity to the style of Van Dyck. In fact, the influence of this painter, far more than the heroic *grandezza* of Rubens, marks the further evolution of painting in Antwerp during the second half of the 17th century. In this tendency one finds reflected a new preference for graceful forms and for a somewhat idyllic serenity. This influences not only history painting, but genre and landscape painting as well. Compared to the highly expressive and sometimes dramatic tavern scenes by Adriaan Brouwer (*c.* 1605-1638), a contemporary of Rubens who much admired the master, the genre paintings by David Teniers the Younger (1610-1690) look much more placid and "prettified" (No. 32). The same is true of the beautiful landscapes by Jan Siberechts (1627-1700/03), which give the impression of having been painted in the calm freshness of early mornings, in a style departing from the dynamic Baroque concepts of the first half of the century.

Although after 1650 we still find a certain number of interesting painters in Antwerp, the period of great flowering is over. That the leading personalities of note in that period, David Teniers the Younger and Jan Siberechts, should both leave Antwerp (the first to become painter at the court in Brussels, the second to settle in England) underscores the gradual decline which became general in painting (through not in sculpture) toward the end of the 17th century.

FRANS BAUDOUIN

PAINTINGS

CORNELIS MASSYS (attributed)

Painter of landscapes and genre pieces, engraver. Born in Antwerp about 1508 /10, as son of Quinten Massys, died about 1557. Master in 1531.

1. *Hilly landscape*

Panel, 17.6 x 23.9 cm. Signature (inauthentic ?) ; below, near the center : *Ludg...fecit* ; dated underneath on a stone : 1565.

W. Cohen ascribed this small, attractive landscape to Cornelis Massys, and indeed the style is very close to the few existant paintings signed by this artist. However, as Dr. C. Van de Velde has pointed out, if the date 1565 on the painting is correct it is impossible to maintain this attribution since new archival evidence (to which reference will be made in his contribution to *Antwerpen in de zestiende eeuw*, a forthcoming publication by the "Genootschap voor Antwerpse Geschiedenis") makes it evident that Cornelis Massys died about 1557. The last signed painting by him, mentioned by J. J. Friedländer, is dated 1556.

Antwerp, Mayer van den Bergh Museum

MARTEN DE VOS

Painter mostly of religious and mythological subjects and portraits; he also made designs for book-illustrations and wall tapestries. Born in Antwerp in 1532, died there in 1603. After a stay in Italy (1552-1558), he became master in Antwerp in 1558 ; in 1572 dean of the Saint-Lucas Guild.

2. *The Nativity*

Panel, 106 x 75 cm ; signed and dated : M.D. Vos F. 1577.

The coloring of this charming painting is reminiscent of the Venetian school. This can be explained by the fact that Marten de Vos stayed in Venice for sometime before he became master in Antwerp.

Antwerp, Cathedral

PETER BRUEGHEL II (called the Hell Brueghel) (attributed)

Painter of religious subjects, genre and landscape painting. Born in Brussels in 1564, a son of Peter Bruegel the Elder, died in Antwerp in 1638. Skillful copyist of his father's pictures and working in his style.

3. *The Adoration of the Magi*

Canvas, 143 x 172 cm.

This picture is a copy after the painting by Peter Bruegel the Elder in the Royal Gallery of Fine Arts in Brussels. Many copies of this composition have been traditionally ascribed to Peter Brueghel II. However, G. Marlier considers only one of these, in the Philadelphia Museum of Art, as possibly by this artist. The same author is inclined to attribute the present version to Peter Balten (mentioned in 1540, died in Antwerp *c.* 1598), who was a contemporary of Peter Bruegel the Elder.

Antwerp, Royal Gallery of Fine Arts

JAN BRUEGHEL THE ELDER (called the Velvet Brueghel)

Painter of landscapes, still lifes, and flowers. Born in Brussels in 1568, one year before the death of his father Peter Bruegel the Elder; died in Antwerp in 1625. Stayed in Italy 1593-1596. In 1597 master in the Saint-Lucas Guild in Antwerp. Friend of P. P. Rubens.

4. *Wedding-party in a landscape*

Copper, 27.4 x 36.6 cm.

Jan Brueghel the Elder painted many charming small-sized landscapes with figures in a very detailed and colorful way, reminiscent sometimes of miniatures. This one is probably rather early and resembles the style of Paul Bril (1554-1626), whom he surely met during his stay in Italy.

Antwerp, Mayer van den Bergh Museum

PETER PAUL RUBENS

One of the most outstanding artists of the 17th century; painter of religious, mythological and allegorical subjects, landscapes, genre, etc.; also made designs for book-illustrations, wall tapestries and sculptures.

Almost certainly born at Siegen (Germany) on 28 June 1577, died in Antwerp, 30 May 1640. Learned his art in Antwerp successively from three masters: Tobias Verhaecht, Adam van Noort and Otto van Veen (Venius). Master in the Saint-Lucas Guild in 1598. From 1600 till 1608 in Italy.

In 1609 appointed court-painter by the archduke Albert and the infanta Isabella; married Isabella Brant in the same year. In the next twelve years he worked uninterruptedly in Antwerp where he painted mostly large altarpieces. Painted in 1622-25 the Maria de' Medici-cycle. After 1623 engaged in peace negotiations with Holland. His meeting with Buckingham in Paris in 1625 stimulated his activity as a diplomat. As a consequence of this, he was sent by the infanta Isabella to Madrid (1628-29), and subsequently by King Philip IV of Spain to the court of Charles I in London (1629-30). In the meantime Isabella Brant died in 1626. After Rubens had successfully carried out his mission, he returned

to Antwerp, where he married Helena Fourment on 6 December 1630. Painted in 1633-34 the ceiling-paintings for Banqueting Hall, Whitehall. In 1634-35 he designed the decorations for the Triumphal Entry of Cardinal-Infant Ferdinand in Antwerp. Bought in May 1635 the castle Steen in Elewijt. There he was inspired by the environment to paint his beautiful late landscapes. Painted in 1636-38 sketches for more than sixty mythological paintings to decorate the Torre de la Parada, near Madrid, the hunting lodge of King Philip IV of Spain.

5. *Wisdom (Minerva) repelling War and Rebellion*

Originally on panel ; later transferred to canvas, 65 x 51 cm. (including small later additions to the bottom and right hand side).

"The original Minerva, in flying draperies, with aegis, plumed helmet and shield, rushes downwards and with both hands thrusts her deadly lance into the neck of... a fallen woman who lies horizontally with her naked legs apart, covered with a piece of scarlet drapery and with her hair in disorder" (L. Burchard).

This is a finished sketch, painted *c.* 1632-1633, as a model for one of the four allegorical triumphs, which form part of the Whitehall Ceiling, Banqueting Hall, London.

In another more freely painted, mostly monochrome sketch (belonging to Mrs. Humphrey Brand at Glynde Place) which precedes this one and which probably represents Rubens' first idea of the plan of the whole Whitehall Ceiling, the composition was layed out in approximately the same way. Although there is no doubt that the woman with the plumed helmet represents Minerva, the meaning of this sketch (as well as the other three corresponding allegories) is a matter of disagreement among modern scholars. "Charity destroying Lust," "Wisdom conquering Envy," "Reason and Intemperance" have been suggested. J. S. Held suggested the title mentioned above. It is clear that the subject of the sketch alludes to one of the virtues of King James I, whose *Apotheosis* is the general theme of the ceiling.

Antwerp, Royal Gallery of Fine Arts

JACOB JORDAENS

Painter of religious, mythological, allegorical subjects, genre, still lifes, portraits, designs for tapestries ; also etcher. Born in Antwerp, 19 May 1593, died there on 18 October 1678. Pupil of Adam van Noort, whose daughter Catharina he married in 1616, the year after he became master in the Saint-Lucas Guild.

6. *The Adoration of the Shepherds*

Canvas, 35 x 27 cm.

This is a sketch for the painting (canvas, 248 x 202 cm.) representing

the same composition, formerly in the chapel in the palace of the bishop of Antwerp, at present in the Royal Gallery of Fine Arts in Antwerp (No. 221). A repetition by Jordaens (canvas, 153 x 117 cm.), containing a few changes, was sold in an auction in the Galerie Fischer in Lucerne (Switzerland), on 3 December 1955, No. 2089.

Antwerp, Royal Gallery of Fine Arts

7. *Moses and Zipporah, his Ethiopian Wife*

Canvas, 117 x 106 cm.

According to the Bible (Exodus, 2 : 21 and Numbers, 12 : 1), Moses married an Ethiopian woman, and therefore Jordaens represented her in this painting as black. The painting was most probably completed about 1650.

Antwerp, Rubenshouse

ANTHONY VAN DYCK (after)

Painter, mostly of portraits, also some religious and a few mythological paintings; etcher. Born in Antwerp, 22 March 1599 ; died in London, 9 December 1641. In 1609 he is mentioned as a pupil of Hendrik van Balen. Around 1615-16 he is active as an independent artist. Master in the Saint-Lucas Guild on 11 February 1618. From this time on until his departure for London in 1620 he is Rubens' most important disciple. After a short stay in England he left (most probably in November 1621) for Italy where he stayed mainly at Genoa. By Autumn 1627 he is apparently back in Antwerp. This stay ends in the first months of the year 1632 and is called the second Antwerp period. On 1 April 1632 he is back in London where he is knighted and appointed "principalle paynter" of Charles I. From 1634 to the first half of 1635 he returns to the Netherlands and stays mainly at Brussels. Afterwards he returns to England. In October 1640, after a short stay in Antwerp, he returns again to London where he dies on 9 December 1641. Van Dyck was doubtless one of the strongest and most personable draughtsmen of the 17th century.

8. *Portrait of Nicolaas Rockox*

Panel, 42 x 32 cm. (in an oval frame)

Nicolaas Rockox (Antwerp 1560-1640) was from 1588 ten times alderman of the city of Antwerp, and from 1603 till his death nine times burgomaster of Antwerp. He was a great connoisseur, numismatist, bibliophile and a great friend and patron of Rubens and Van Dyck. He carried on a vast correspondence with the most outstanding scholars of his time.

In the 18th century the portrait was hanging in the *Armenkamer* at the Antwerp cathedral, and was then often considered as a painting by

Van Dyck himself ; others considered it as a copy which Abraham van Diepenbeeck made in 1642 after an original by Van Dyck. Considering the sitter is about forty years old, M. Rooses attributed the painting to an unknown master prior to Rubens. Although L. Burchard pointed out in the auction catalogue of the Stroganoff collection, sold at Lepke's, Berlin, 12-13 May 1931 (under No. 77), that this painting is an old copy after the portrait by Van Dyck in the Hermitage, it has been mostly attributed to Rubens' studio. It is evident that this portrait derives from a prototype painted by A. van Dyck, and painted in his manner. Another version of the Hermitage painting, also considered as by Van Dyck, is in the Baltimore Museum of Art (Frick Jacobs collection).

Antwerp, Royal Gallery of Fine Arts
(on loan from the Commission of Public Assistance)

GASPAR DE CRAEYER (attributed)
Painter mainly of religious subjects, also of portraits. Antwerp, 1584-Ghent, 1669. Master in Brussels 1607. Lived mostly in that city and removed in 1664 to Ghent, where he died five years later.

9. *Saint Hieronymus*

Canvas, 99.5 x 79.5 cm.

The lion on the left, below, which is one of the attributes of Saint Hieronymus, seems to indicate that this church father is represented here in the ornate of a bishop.
The attribution to Gaspar de Craeyer, which was first made in 1884, is not certain. However, the painting is very typical of the Rubens-tradition in representing saints.

Antwerp, Patrimonium of the C.O.O. (Commission of Public Assistance)

CORNELIS SCHUT
Painter of religious and mythological paintings, also engraver. Born in Antwerp, 13 May 1597, died there 30 April 1655. Master about 1618; for some time an assistant of Rubens.

10. *The Assumption of the Virgin*

Canvas (tondo), diameter 80 cm.

The Virgin, in the middle, is surrounded by angels, some of them playing on musical instruments. Above her head the dove, representing the Holy Spirit ; in the distance and hardly discernable, God the Father and Christ. This painting is the *modello* for the big ceiling

painting in the Antwerp cathedral. Payments concerning this picture are mentioned during the years 1645 to 1647 in the accounts of the Antwerp cathedral.

Antwerp, Cathedral

THEODOOR VAN THULDEN

Painter of religious and mythological subjects and allegories, also engraver. Born in 's-Hertogenbosch, baptized on 9 August 1606, died c. 1676 in the same town, where he established himself at the end of his life, after a long career chiefly in Antwerp, where he became master in 1627, and dean of the Saint-Lucas Guild in 1638.

11. *The Continence of Scipio*

Canvas, 115 x 142 cm.

According to Titus Livius (*XXVI,* 50), after the conquest of Cartagena in 219 B.C., Lucretia, betrothed to Allucius, was offered as booty to Scipio. He refused to accept this gift, and gave her back to her fiance. This is the subject represented here. We note also the golden cup, which was offered to Scipio as a ransom by Lucretia's parents. He refused it and offered it as a dowry to the betrothed.
This painting is the *modello* for the big painting (canvas, 294 x 366 cm.), signed by Van Thulden which was formerly in the Joseph Cremer collection in Dortmund.

Antwerp, Royal Gallery of Fine Arts

ERASMUS QUELLIN (QUELLINUS)

Painter of religious and mythological subjects and portraits; made also designs for book-illustrations. Antwerp 1607-1678. Worked probably before 1634 with Rubens. Master in 1633/34. He was undoubtedly one of the most talented followers of Rubens.

12. *Portrait of Ludovicus Nonnius*

Canvas, 65.4 x 50.5 cm.

Ludovicus Nunez (*c.* 1553-1645/46), better known in the Latinized form of his name as Nonnius, was a physician of Portuguese-Hispanish origin. He learned medicine at the University of Louvain. As a physician he was called on by Rubens as well as Balthasar I Moretus . He published two books on diet in classical times, which belong to the first publications dealing with this subject in his time. He was also a well-read humanist, and as a numismatist, he published Hubert Goltzius' well known books on Greek and Roman medals in

editions that were revised and enlarged by himself. This painting is a fragmentary copy, showing only the bust, after Rubens' masterly portrait of Nonnius, painted probably about 1625-1628, at present in the National Gallery in London. Erasmus Quellin was paid for it on 18 April 1647. Therefore, the painting was probably commissioned by Balthasar II Moretus, shortly after Nonnius' death, to provide a memorial of this excellent physician in the gallery of great men started by Balthasar I Moretus.

Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum

ANONYMOUS ANTWERP MASTER (about 1650)

13. *The proclamation of the Treaty of Munster (Westphalia) in 1648 on the "Grote Markt" (Great Market Place) in Antwerp*

Canvas, 111 x 170 cm.

The painting shows in the center the Town Hall of Antwerp built in 1561-1564 after designs by Cornelis Floris. On the right, guild houses (built shortly after 1577). Most of the houses on the left no longer exist, since they were pulled down in 1718 when the market place was enlarged on this side.

In front of the right wing of the Town Hall, we note a stage, constructed in wood, conceived as an arcaded *loggia*, following Rubens' style in this kind of decorative work. The construction was created for the proclamation of the Treaty of Munster (Westphalia), which took place on 5 June 1648. Erasmus Quellin (see No. 12) made the designs for it. There exists a preparatory oilsketch in grisaille for this stage, which belonged formerly to the London art dealer Julius Singer (Burlington Magazine, October 1942, p. II). The stage appears also on an engraving by Wenzel Hollar, representing the same subject (see No. 104). Also on a painting, signed Maximiliaen Pauwels and dated 1649, auctioned in Brussels (Galerie Le Roy), on 4 March 1936, No. 17. It is not unlikely that the present painting is a variation of it, painted by the same artist. Very similar in its general architectural shape is the drawing by Erasmus Quellin, in the Hermitage in Leningrad, which is a design of another stage, constructed for the triumphal entry in 1657 of don Juan of Austria, as governor of the Netherlands.

Antwerp, Royal Gallery of Fine Arts

ANONYMOUS ANTWERP MASTER (second half of the 17th century)

14. *View of the Antwerp Jesuit Church and the Professed House*

Canvas, 67.5 x 80 cm.

This painting is a rather rare representation of this site which is still in existence in Antwerp. On the left, we see the broad facade of the Antwerp Jesuit Church, with its coupled pilasters, scroll-shape buttresses and niches for statuary. In the middle and on the right-hand side, the facade of the Professed House. It is known that Rubens cooperated with the architects, the Jesuits François Aguilon (1567-1617) and Peter Huyssens (1577-1637), in designing the decorative elements of the facade of this church, which was built between 1615 and 1621. Because of the richness of the materials used for the construction (mainly in the interior) it was often called "the marble temple" of the Jesuits in 17th century reports. The sculptures and decorative elements of the facade were mostly executed by Hans van Mildert, Antwerp sculptor and friend of Rubens, and his workshop.
The Professed House was built a few years later (in 1622 and following years). During the 17th century it played an important role as an outstanding spiritual and cultural center. It was there e.g. that the hagiographer Heribertus Rosweydus (1569-1629) conceived the idea of the monumental *Acta Sanctorum*, of which during a century and a half many volumes have been worked out on this place by Joannes Bolland and his successors. The series is still continued at present by the so-called Bollandists in Brussels.

Antwerp, Onze-Lieve-Vrouwcollege

DRAWINGS

MATTHIJS OR HIERONYMUS COCK

Matthijs : landscape painter ; Antwerp, 1509-March 1548 ; son of Jan Wellens Cock—Hieronymus : painter, engraver and dealer in prints ; younger brother of Matthijs (See No. 72).

15. *Italian Landscape*

Pen and ink, 26.5 x 40.5 cm.

This drawing, representing a valley with the silhouette of Alpine mountains on the left side, recalls two others respectively in the Printroom in Berlin and in the Fondation Custodia (Collection of Frits Lugt), the Institut Néerlandais in Paris, both signed *Cocq* or *Cock*.

Antwerp, Print Room

ANONYMOUS MASTER, Antwerp *c.* 1550

16. *Landscape with a church*

Pen and ink, 10 x 16.5 cm.

Recognized by Gudlauggson as a copy of a drawing in the Errera sketchbook (Royal Gallery of Fine Arts, Brussels). A second copy after another drawing of this sketchbook is in the Albertina at Vienna. Gudlauggson was inclined to ascribe these copies to Lucas van Valckenborgh to whom perhaps the sketchbook belonged. Different hypotheses have been proposed concerning the artist (or artists) who made the drawings in the sketchbook: Patinir, the Master of the Female Half-figures, Matthijs Cock, Cornelis Massys and Lucas van Valckenborgh himself.

Antwerp, Mayer van den Bergh Museum

MARTEN DE VOS

See No. 2

17. *America*

Pen and bister, 28.5 x 16.5 cm.

Symbolized by a young woman, holding in one hand an arrow, in the other a battle ax (tomahawk), sitting on a gigantic armadillo (*Priodontes giganteus*).

Antwerp, Print Room

18. *Africa*

Pen and bister, 29.7 x 19.2 cm.

Symbolized by a young woman with an olive-branch in the right hand and sitting on a crocodile.

Antwerp, Print Room

19. *Asia*

Pen and bister, 30 x 19 cm.

Symbolized by a young woman, sitting on a camel.

Antwerp, Print Room

20. *Europe*

Pen and bister, 29.3 x 19.5 cm.

Symbolized by a young woman, crowned, in the left hand a scepter, in the right a vine tendril, sitting on a globe, a compass and a book on her lap.

Antwerp, Print Room

The Entry of Archduke Ernest of Austria, governor-general for King Philip II, in Antwerp on 14 June 1594, was according to Antwerp tradition, both splendid and lavish. Many huge triumphal arches were erected in the streets, decorated with statues and ornamental panels executed by local artists. The supervision of the whole operation was entrusted to Marten de Vos, who made most of the sketches to be used as models by his colleagues. The larger part of his drawings are preserved in the Antwerp Print Room, including these representations of the Four Continents, decorating the Arch of the Genoese merchants established in Antwerp.

JORIS HOEFNAGEL

Miniature-painter, draughtsman, engraver. Antwerp, 1542-Vienna, 9 September 1600. Pupil of Hans Bol.

21. *Emblematic composition in honor of the Antwerp cartographer Abraham Ortelius*

Miniature with brush, lightened with gold on vellum, 11.7 x 16.5 cm. Signed in cartouche, below, on the right : Georgius Houfnaglius, and dated 1593. Below, on the left the dedication to Abraham Ortelius. Below, in the middle : Hermathena. Above, in cartouche : Ars neminem habet osorem nisi ignorantem.

The two inscriptions in the middle, above and below, as well as the owl (symbol of wisdom), his caduceus consisting of a paint-brush and two snakes, the instruments used by a painter, the insects, the globe, the book, etc., point to the fact that the composition symbolizes the union of the arts and sciences, a very appropriate emblem as a dedication by a painter to a scientist, Abraham Ortelius (1527-1598), the famous Antwerp geographer. A similar owl, holding the caduceus in the same manner in his right claw, is represented on one of the leafs of a codex in Vienna, containing miniatures by Joris Hoefnagel (Th.A.G. Wilberg Vignau-Schuurman, *Die emblematischen Elemente im Werke des Joris Hoefnagel,* II, Leiden, 1969, Abb. 26).

Antwerp, Print Room

PAUL BRIL

Landscape painter and etcher. Antwerp, 1554 - Rome, 1626. In 1574 in Lyons and from 1576 in Rome.

22. *Rocky Landscape*

Pen and ink, 26.5 x 34.5 cm.

The left-hand half of the drawing represents a rocky terrain grown over with trees. On a plateau two shepherds and their goats. On the

right, a deep valley and a rocky mountain side on a hill. Although the composition recalls paintings with similar compositions by Bril, the attribution of this drawing to him is uncertain.

Antwerp, Print Room

JOOST DE MOMPER

Landscape painter. Antwerp, 1564 - 5 February 1635. Master in the Saint-Lucas Guild in 1581.

23. *Mountain Landscape*

Pen and ink, washed, 23.2 x 33.2 cm.

Reverse side : a sketch of a medallion in charcoal, probably dating from the 18th century. The drawing is very similar to three others preserved in the Printroom in Berlin (Bock-Rosenberg, Nos. 5718, 704, and 12002). One of these (No. 5718) is signed : JDM. The drawing also recalls some of his numerous painted landscapes in which the trees are treated in a similar way.

Antwerp, Print Room

JAN BRUEGHEL THE ELDER (VELVET BRUEGHEL)

See No. 4

24. *A road in the countryside*

Pen and traces of grey water-color, 20.5 x 32.2 cm.

This is a detailed drawing, probably made in preparation for a painting. Stylistically this drawing is very similar to another one by Jan Brueghel the Elder, in the Royal Gallery of Fine Arts in Brussels, which M. Winner dated *c.* 1619. This date has been confirmed by L. De Pauw-De Veen, who has drawn attention to the fact that the same group of trees, near the middle of the drawing, appears also on another sheet, formerly in the Dr. Otto Curt Collection, which is signed and dated 1619.

Antwerp, Print Room

HENDRIK VAN BALEN THE ELDER

Painter of religious and mythological scenes, also portraits. Antwerp, 1575-17 July 1632. Master in the Saint-Lucas Guild in 1592 ; dean of the Guild in 1609-1610. A. van Dyck was his pupil ; he was a friend of Rubens.

25. *Diana and Actaeon*

Pen and ink, bister and blue water-colors, white gouache ; 20.1 x 26.7 cm.
Signed and dated at the bottom left : Hendricus van Balen. Anno 1605.

Diana and her frightened nymphs, in the foreground, are surprised by Actaeon, who is shown in the background, accompanied by his dogs. According to Ovid (*Metamorphoses*, III, 155-203) for his punishment he was changed into a deer. On the drawing we note the antlers growing out of his head. Most probably this drawing was made as a study for a painting, which, however, is at present unknown. I. Jost has drawn attention to the fact that in the composition there is a relation with a drawing dated 1597 by Hans Rottenhammer (1564-1625), made in Venice, and preserved at the Staatliche Sammlungen in Weimar. Also other works by Van Balen recall the style of this German artist, who he may have met during his stay in Italy. This drawing is characteristic of mythological scenes in the late mannerist style current in the Netherlands before Rubens gave it a more baroque appearance.

Antwerp, Print Room

PETER PAUL RUBENS

See No. 5

26. *Head of Henry IV, King of France*

Black and white chalk, 24.5 x 24 cm. Below on the right : P.P.R. (by a later hand).

Study for the head of the King in "The Presentation to King Henry of the Portrait of Maria de' Medici," one of the paintings of the Medici Cycle, at present in the Louvre in Paris, made in the years 1622-1625 for the Palais du Luxembourg by order of Maria de' Medici. The drawing was probably copied from a sculpture.

Antwerp, Print Room

FRANS SNYDERS

Painter of still lifes and animals, etcher. Antwerp, 12 November 1579 - 19 August 1657. Master in the Saint-Lucas Guild in 1602. Worked often in collaboration with P.P. Rubens and A. van Dyck.

27. *Vicious dog*

Pen and bister, 23.9 x 38.7 cm.

The right half may partially have been retouched by a later hand with darker ink. Below to the left, in a handwriting of the 18th century "Snyers - Deli." The traditional attribution to Frans Snyders, the well-known animal painter, is mainly based on the inscription, probably dating from the 18th century.

Antwerp, Print Room

PAUL DE VOS

Painter mostly of animals and hunting scenes. Younger brother of Cornelis de Vos. Hulst, c. 1596 - Antwerp, 30 June 1678. Master in the Saint-Lucas Guild in 1620. Worked also for P.P. Rubens and for his brother-in-law, Frans Snyders.

28. *Game, vegetables and fruit on a table*

Pen and ink, washed, on blue pale watercolor background, 20.3 x 27.7 cm.

One of a series of ten drawings preserved in the Antwerp Print Room. They originally formed part of a sketchbook at the Print Room of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, containing at present more than thirty drawings. On one sheet (now in Amsterdam) is written in Dutch the statement : I, Paul de Vos, have worked for Peter Rubens for six days. Max Rooses advanced the hypothesis that Paul de Vos made these drawings after paintings by his brother-in-law Frans Snyders, in order to preserve a document of them. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that the composition of another drawing in the Antwerp Print Room corresponds with a painting by Frans Snyders, signed and dated 1616, which formerly belonged to the R. Chasles collection, Brussels, at present to Mr. A. Speelman, London.

Antwerp, Print Room

JACOB JORDAENS

See No. 6

29. *Saint Martin healing a possessed*

Watercolor (vermilion, green, ochre, yellow) and sepia-ink, 45 x 31.5 cm.

Study (modello) for the painting in the Royal Gallery of Fine Arts at Brussels, signed and dated 1630. Another drawing, more in accordance with the painting in Brussels, is in the British Museum in London. This drawing is very characteristic for the working method of Jordaens, who generally made carefully detailed color drawings on paper, to be shown to those who ordered a painting. In this he departed from Rubens' example, who generally painted oilsketches on small panels for this purpose. We note on the drawing that Jordaens did not hesitate to change and to expand his composition.

Antwerp, Print Room

30. *Paul and Silas preaching at Philippi*

Pencil, ink and red crayon, 43 x 56 cm. The central part (33 x 41.5 cm.) is pasted on a blue-green sheet, and the four sides enlarged, and extended (typical for the way Jordaens made his drawings).

The drawing illustrates an episode in the life of the Apostle Paul, as described in the Acts of the Apostles 16 : 11-15. The composition shows some resemblance to the painting "Paul and Barnabas" executed in 1645 (Akademie der bildenden Kunste at Vienna). The drawing was likely made in the same period or somewhat later, as a preparatory study for a similar painting, or more likely, for a wall tapestry, which, however, was never completed. Until 1970, when it was acquired by the Antwerp Print Room, this drawing was unknown to the specialists.

Antwerp, Print Room

ANTHONY VAN DYCK

See No. 8

31. *Christ falling under the cross*

Pen and bister, China-ink, retouched with white gouache, on yellow paper, squared for transfer, 21 x 17 cm. Probably cut on the upper edge. Below by a later hand "vandyck" and twice "90."

Preparatory drawing for the painting in the former Dominican's church, at present Saint-Paul's Church in Antwerp, executed in about 1617, one of fifteen panels representing the Mysteries of the Rosary. Other drawings for the composition of this painting are in the Museum of Rhode Island at Providence, R.I., the Biblioteca Reale in Turin, the Palais des Beaux-Arts in Lille, the Devonshire collection at Chatsworth, the Courtauld Institute of Art (Collection Sir Robert Witt) in London, the collection of Mrs. Gatacre de Stuers in Vorden. The drawing in the Kunsthalle in Bremen was destroyed during the last war. The great number of studies made demonstrate the artist's endeavor to improve his composition. The present drawing, squared for transfer, represents the final stage which was used for the painting.

Antwerp, Print Room

DAVID TENIERS THE YOUNGER

Painter of genre, landscapes and portraits ; also etcher. Antwerp, 1610 - Brussels, 1690. Pupil of his father David Teniers the Elder. Master in the Saint-Lucas Guild in Antwerp in 1633 ; dean of the guild in 1644. Settled in Brussels as painter of Archduke Leopold-Wilhelm.

32. *Study of peasants*

Pencil, 9.2 x 15.6 cm.

Originally, this very sketchy drawing was probably a sheet forming a

part of a sketchbook It contains rapid notations from life. Nearly in the center, three peasants in animated conversation. In the right upper corner a peasant walking to the left. Below, right, a dog. We may suppose that the artist intended to use this sheet later for one or more of his pictures, where the subject occurs repeatedly. A very similar group (the figure in the middle in a somewhat changed attitude) appears in a painting by Teniers, formerly in the collection of A. De Ridder (sold in Paris, 2 June 1924, No. 75). Also, in reverse, in a painting attributed to Teniers, which was sold in Brussels (Galerie Nackers, sale on 29 February 1965, No. 735.)

Antwerp, Print Room

JAN FYT

Painter of still lifes, animals and flowerpieces; etcher. Antwerp, 1611 - 11 September 1661. Pupil of Frans Snyders. Master in the Saint-Lucas Guild in 1629-1630.

33. *Running dog*

Black and white chalk, brown-red gouache, background in blue chalk, 26.3 x 40.3 cm.

Detailed study from life representing only the head, the forelegs and a part of the trunk of the dog, running to the right. Other studies, belonging to the same series are in the Antwerp Print Room and in the Print-Room of the Städelsches Kunstinstitut in Frankfurt am Main. The same dog recurs in the same attitude in a study for "Dogs and Foxes" in the Hermitage, Leningrad.

Antwerp, Print Room

BONAVENTURA PEETERS

Painter and etcher. Antwerp, 1614 - Hoboken, 25 July 1652. Master in the Saint-Lucas Guild in 1635-36.

34. *Ships in a tempest*

Gouache (green, blue, grey, vermilion), 23.4 x 17.7 cm.

At the bottom, and continued on the reverse-side, a Dutch poem made and written by B. Peeters, comparing the dangers of life with the dangers of the sea. From this poem we may deduce that the drawing is not only intended as a rather realistic representation of ships in a tempest ; it also has a moral theme.
This is the only gouache by B. Peeters known to date. The drawing recalls the numerous tempest scenes he depicted in his paintings.

Antwerp, Print Room

2 Marten de Vos, *The Nativity*, 1577

3 Peter Brueghel II (attributed), *The Adoration of the Magi*

4 Jan Brueghel the Elder, *Wedding-party in a landscape*

5 Peter Paul Rubens, *Wisdom (Minerva) repelling War and Rebellion, c.* 1632-33

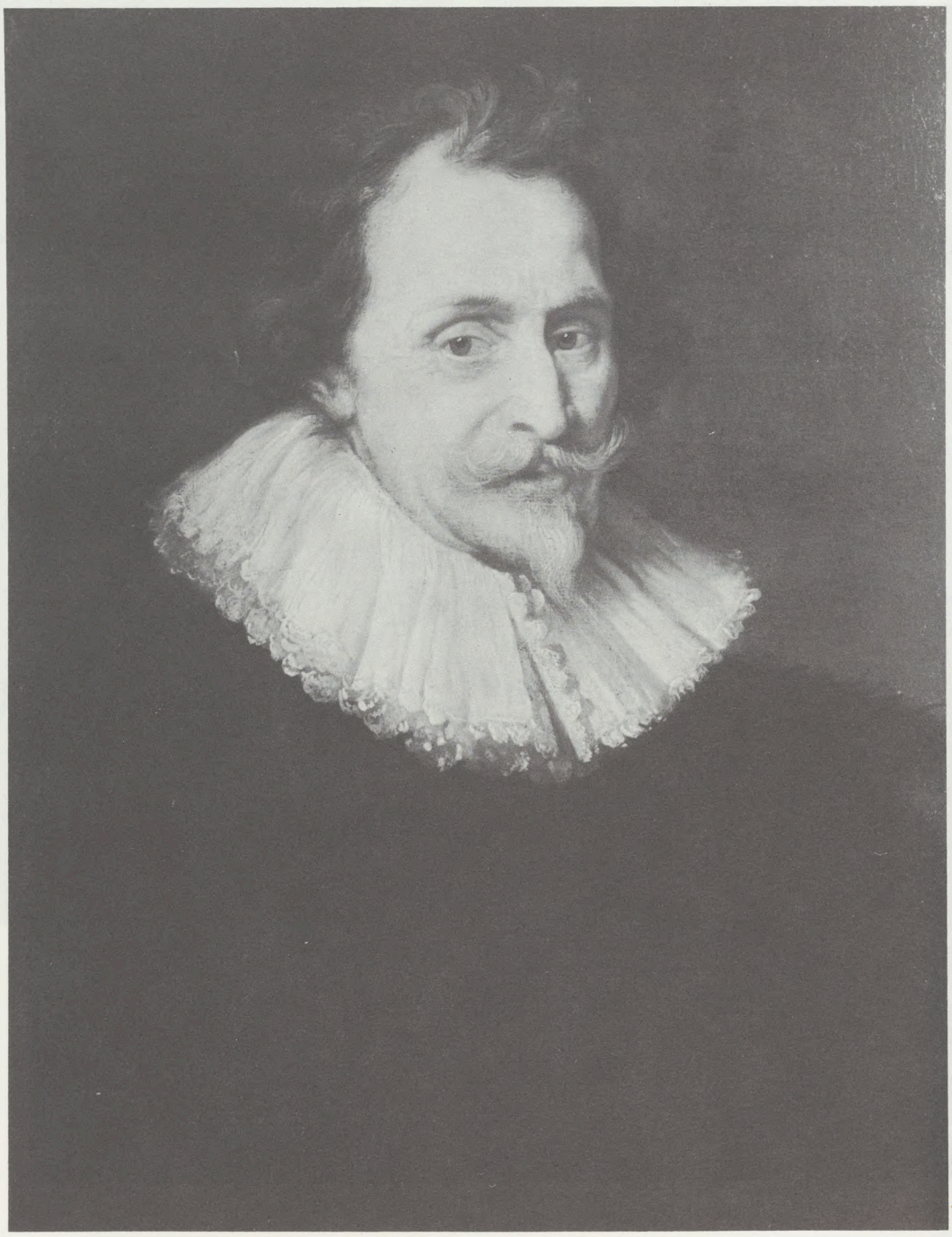
6 Jacob Jordaens, *The Adoration of the Shepherds*

7 Jacob Jordaens, *Moses and Zipporah, his Ethiopian Wife, c.* 1650

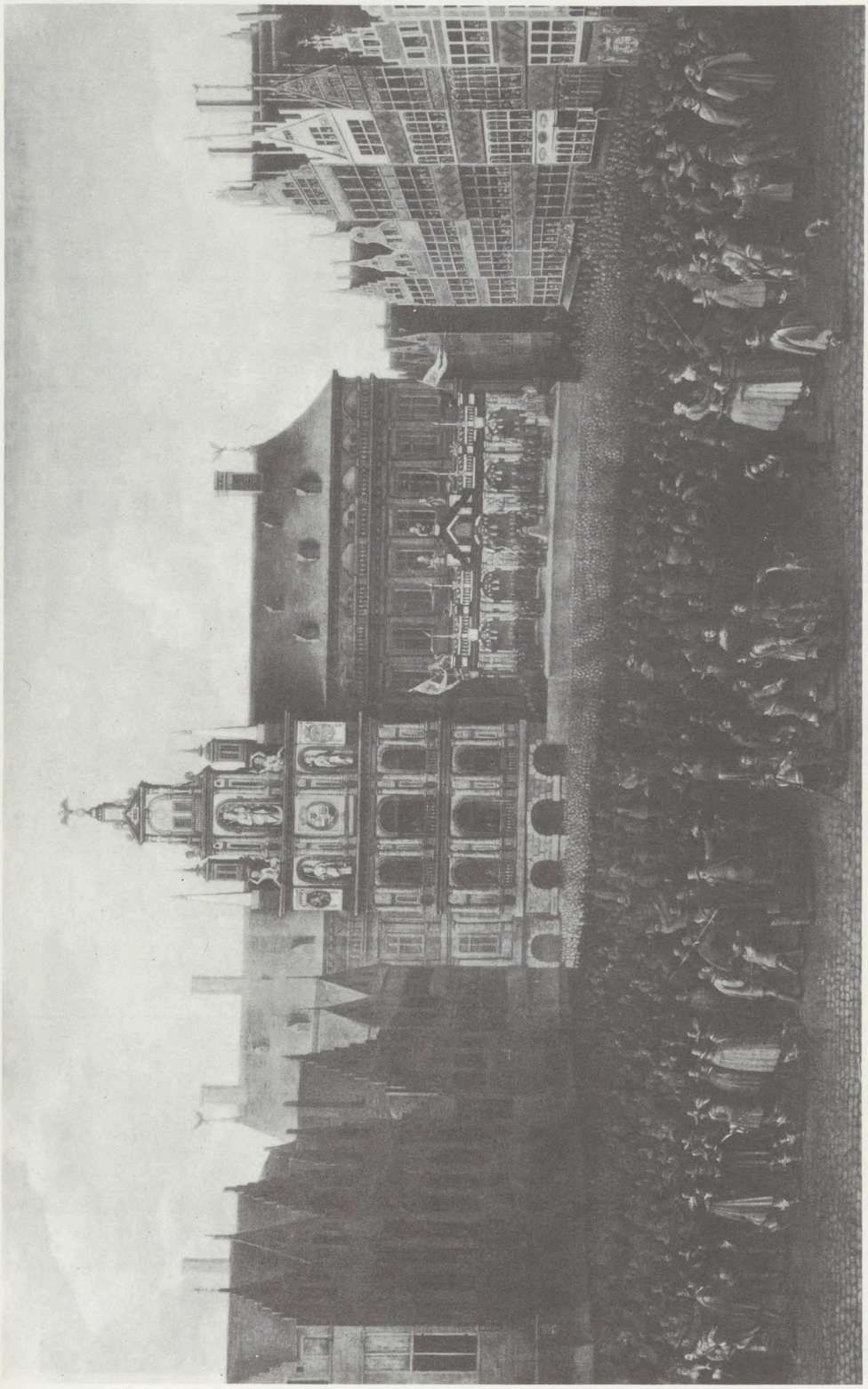
8 Anthony van Dyck (after), *Portrait of Nicolaas Rockox*

10 Cornelis Schut, *The Assumption of the Virgin*, 1645-47

11 Theodoor van Thulden, *The Continence of Scipio*

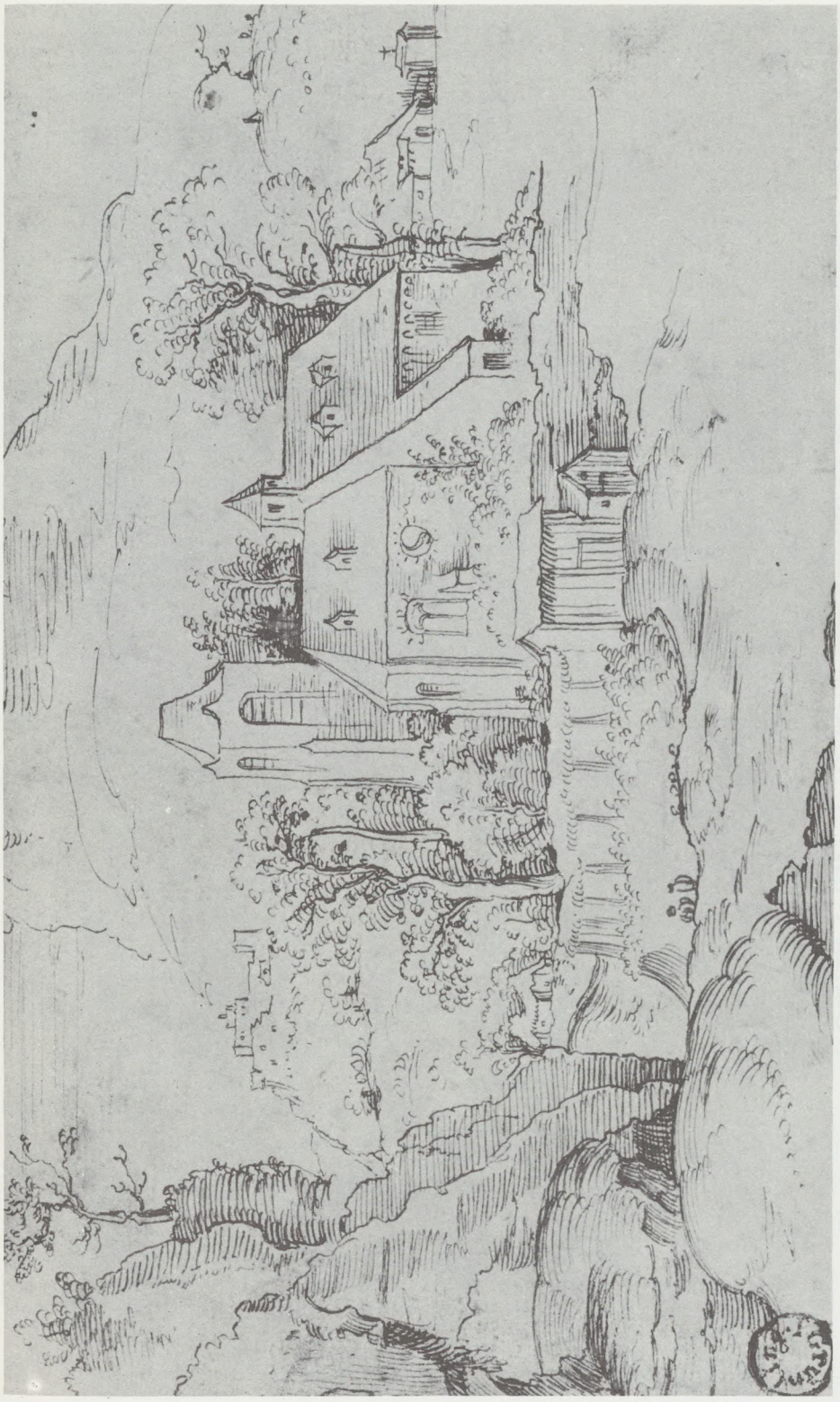


12 Erasmus Quellin, *Portrait of Ludovicus Nonnius*, 1647



13 Anonymous Antwerp Master,
The proclamation of the Treaty of Munster on the Great Market Place in Antwerp, 5 June 1648

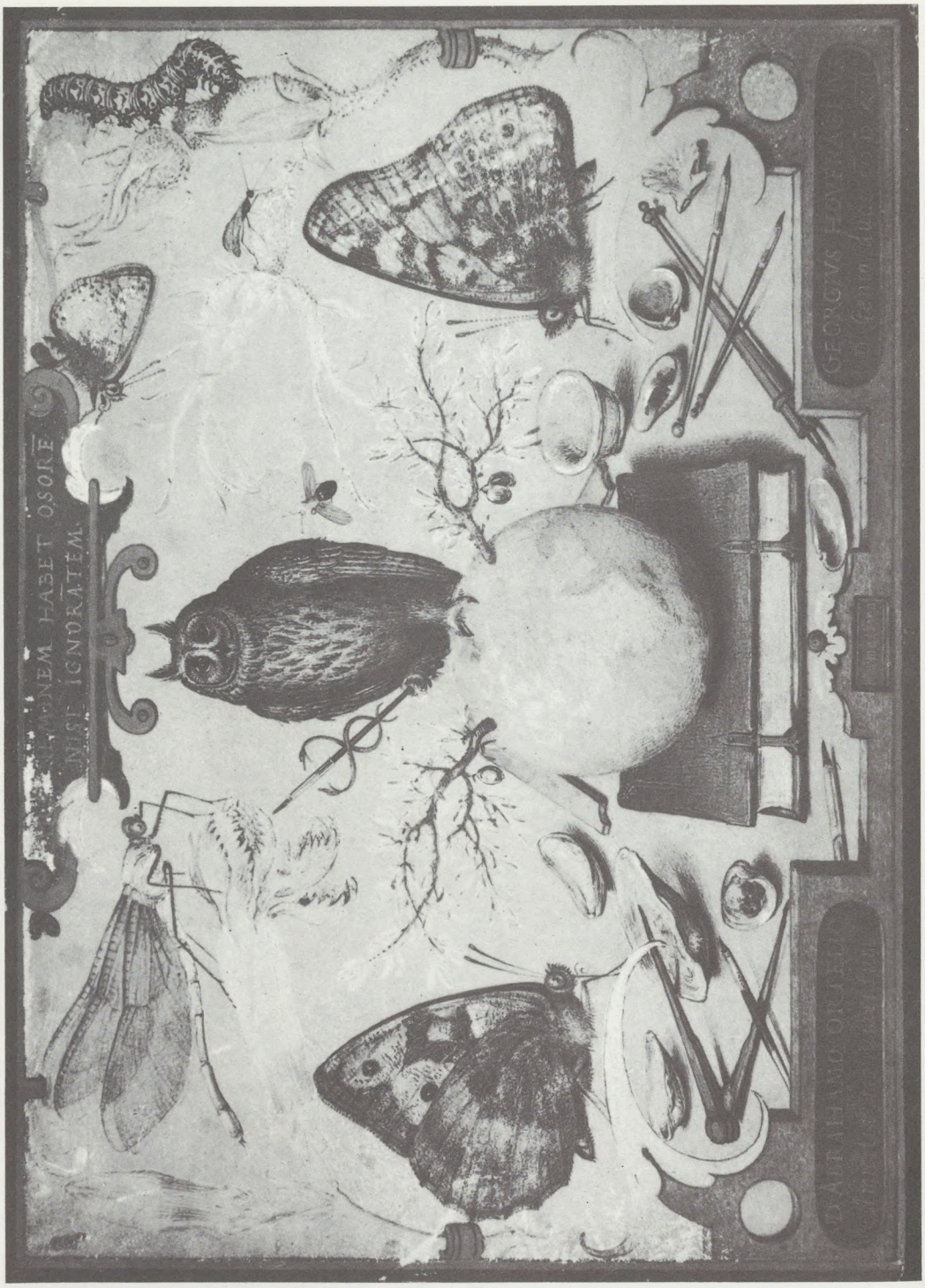
15 Matthijs or Hieronymus Cock, *Italian landscape*



16 Anonymous Antwerp Master, *Landscape with a church, c.* 1550

17 Marten de Vos, *America*, 1594

18 Marten de Vos, *Africa*, 1594



21 Joris Hoefnagel, *Emblematic composition in honor of the Antwerp cartographer Abraham Ortelius*

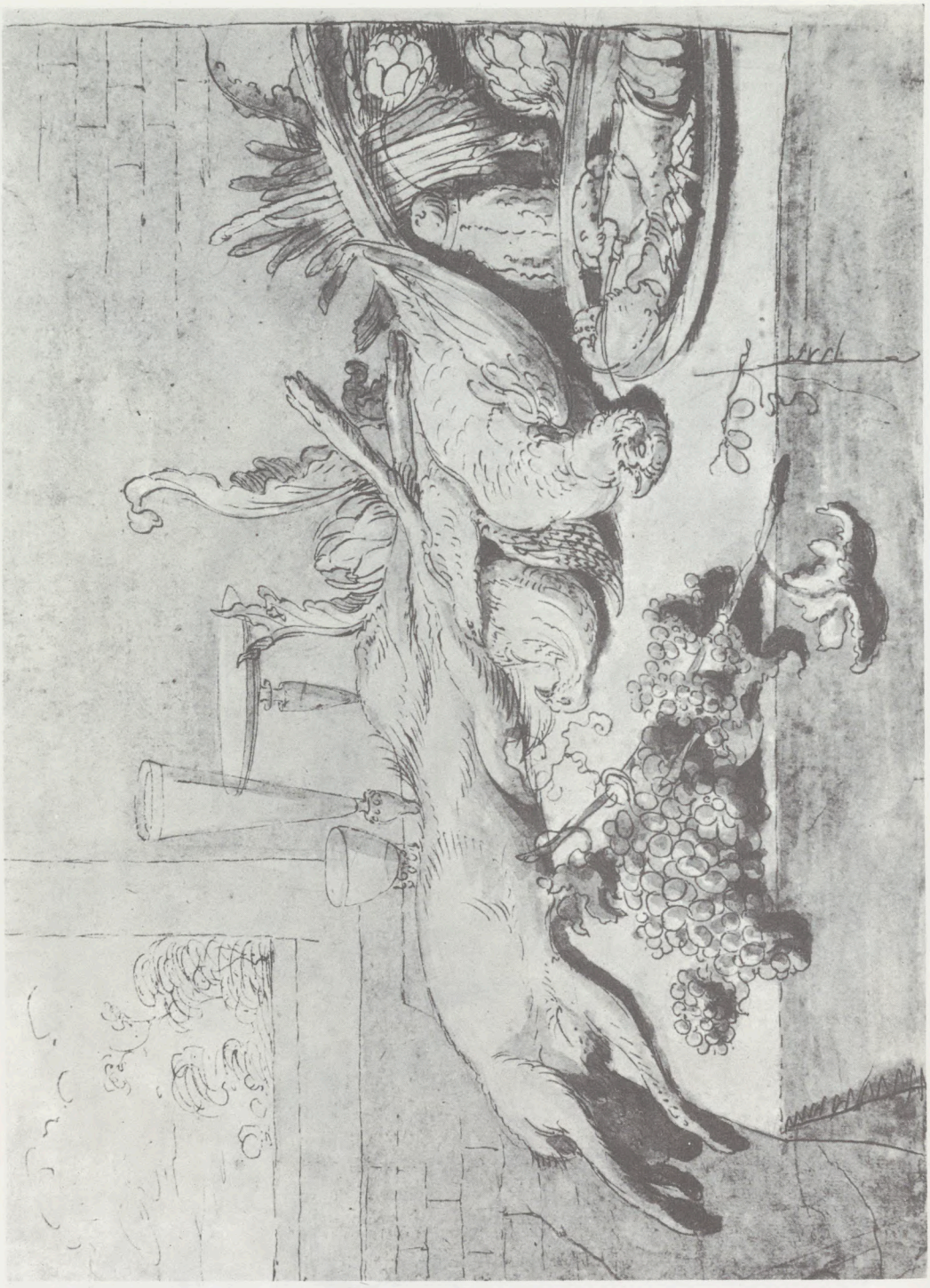
23 Joost de Momper, *Mountain landscape*

24 Jan Brueghel the Elder, *A road in the countryside*

25 Hendrik van Balen the Elder, *Diana and Actaeon*, 1605

26 Peter Paul Rubens, *Head of Henry IV, King of France*, 1622/25

27 Frans Snyders, *Vicious dog*



28 Paul de Vos, *Game, vegetables and fruit on a table*

29 Jacob Jordaens, *Saint Martin healing a possessed,* 1630

30 Jacob Jordaens, *Paul and Silas preaching at Philippi,* 1645

31 Anthony van Dyck, *Christ falling under the cross, c.* 1617

33 Jan Fyt, *Running dog*

34 Bonaventura Peeters, *Ships in a tempest*

V. SCULPTURE

At the beginning of the 16th century, sculpture at Antwerp was in a transitory stage. The traditional Gothic style of the 15th century prevailed in sculpture till an end into the 16th century, lasting even longer than in the other artistic media, such as painting and graphic arts. Sculptured altarpieces were among the main products of 16th century Antwerp workshops. These three-dimensional constructions generally formed huge and compact masses of sculptured wood, but very often, too, they consisted of a central sculptured part, with painted wings hinged on each side : the idea being to keep the altarpiece closed, to be opened only on special occasions. The little figures that composed them were decorated in polychrome tones. Goldleaf was used in abundance. First a special adhesive layer was used before applying the goldleaf. The colors were added later. The effect at candlelight must have been striking.

The subjects represented the life of Jesus, occasionally that of the Holy Virgin, or of saints. The story was generally told in several scenes, often in separate compartments. In the workshops, the master made a sketch of the general composition scheme, then assigned different scenes, to several sculptors. This meant that in his particular part of the altarpiece each artist could express his own style, bringing a rich degree of variety to the whole. The virtuosity displayed in handling and carving the tough oakwood knew no bounds, and has rarely been matched by later artists.

The Antwerp altarpieces are usually signed with a human hand—the mark of the city. Every group carved out of one block normally bears this distinctive mark. It may happen, however, that the mark is missing, probably due to a less careful artist, who did not understand or respect the rules of the craft.

Antwerp altarpieces, moreover, can be distinguished from the products of other Brabantine and Flemish workshops through certain expressions in the figures : gentleness or serenity is present even in the most tragic scenes. In the 15th century, a balanced proportion between emotion and technical accuracy is typical of the work at its best. At the beginning of the 16th century, however, this balance had been lost : technicality prevails over emotion and leads to mannerism in the posture of the bodies as well as in the way they are clothed. The Calvinist iconoclast movements in the second half of the 16th century destroyed a larger part of these altarpieces, as far as they were to be seen in Antwerp churches. However, since they consisted of

numerous parts, a large number of fragments have been preserved ; they form nowadays the pride of the Antwerp Museum of Applied Arts in the Vleeshuis (Butchers' Hall), and other museums in Belgium and abroad, as well of many private collectors.

The high-days of the altarpiece ended about 1540 : the rising Protestantism undercut the export to many countries, and, in the Netherlands too, the mode had changed. This meant a severe setback for the Antwerp sculptors. Their numbers dwindled. They could, however, still produce non-religious items for the decoration of the houses of the wealthy patricians, and occasionally of public dwellings as well. The Gothic style prevailed till the last in the Antwerp wood-carved altarpieces. In the new phase of Antwerp sculpture, which set in about 1540, both in wood and in stone, Italian Renaissance influences began to be felt—as they did in all other Antwerp arts. The new masters created works in which the Italian language was adapted to Dutch traditions and melted into an original style.

One of these masters was the German sculptor Conrad Meyt, who lived in Antwerp from 1536 until his death about the end of 1550. Commissioned by Margareta of Austria, Meyt had made the statues for the funerary chapel in Brou (France), after the drawings of John van Rome, but his style was rather conventional and he doesn't seem to have appreciably influenced his Antwerp colleagues.

Far more important, if not as a sculptor, then as a designer, was Peter Coecke van Aalst, humanist and painter. As no other of his contemporaries, he introduced by his designs the refinements of the Italian Renaissance in walltapestries, in stained glass windows, and in architecture and sculpture as well. He probably conceived the decorations of the so-called house "De Moelenaere van Daele," in 1549, of which some parts still survive : three monumental chimneys (in stone), two of them brought in the 19th century to the Antwerp Town Hall, the third to be seen in the Steen (National Maritime Museum), and an impressive ensemble of oak panels and huge consoles which can be admired in the Museum of Applied Arts (Vleeshuis : Butchers' Hall). The latter is a superb ensemble showing Antwerp Renaissance-decoration at its very best, with an abundance of grotesques typical of Antwerp art in those days, and of satyrs, putti, garlands with fruit, and laurel-leaves.

The man who may be credited with having created the Antwerp grotesque-style, was also the greatest Antwerp sculptor of these days, and one of the greatest of all time : Cornelis Floris de Vriendt, brother of the no less famed painter Frans Floris. He was, as his older colleague, Peter Coecke, a designer as well : the decorative elements in and the general structure of the Antwerp Town Hall

(1561-1564) (the first monumental Renaissance-building in the Low Countries) was largely due to him.

Cornelis Floris had virtually no contemporaries of any importance. Willem van den Broecke (Paludanus) had earned a reputation, at the time, but was more academically minded. That was about all. Sculpture, in Antwerp's Golden Age, at least in the second half of the 16th century, was not one of the most flourishing art forms. But at any rate, besides Van den Broecke, many minor artists carved and chiseled decorative motives for the houses of the wealthy in the style created by Peter Coecke and Cornelis Floris.

After the capitulation of Antwerp in 1585, Antwerp became a bulwark of militant Catholicism. That meant that a new generation of Antwerp sculptors found plenty of work in refurnishing and redecorating the churches and monasteries devastated by the Calvinists. A new era of Antwerp sculpture dawned, in which wood and sandstone would give way to more precious materials, such as marble, and in which appeared the new baroque style, so suited to express the passionate attitudes of the Counter-Reformation. Of course, this happened gradually. The new style can already be observed, mildly, in the beginning of the 17th century, in the works of the de Nole's and of Artus Quellin. They and their contemporaries prepared the way for the great explosion of the true baroque somewhat later in the century—in which artists as Hieronymus du Quesnoy and Peter Verbrugghen, father and son, showed themselves incomparable masters. By that time, however, Antwerp's Golden Age was gone.

JEANNINE LAMBRECHTS-DOUILLEZ

35. *Christ in sorrows*

Antwerp (?), about 1500. Oak, Ht. 36 cm.

Christ, dressed only in a waist cloth, sits on a rock ; the legs are very slender, the hands tied together with a rope, and he has a crown on his head. The hair comes down in long curls ; the beard is also very curly and the mouth opens slightly. The royal gown has fallen off his shoulders and lies next to him on the rock and under his feet. On the right side a skull, and, on the left, a square piece of wood with little squares in relief.

Bibl. : "Le Christ de pitié Brabant-Bourgogne, autour de 1500," in *Catalogue Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts,* 1971, pp. 18 no.8.

Antwerp, Vleeshuis Museum

36. *Five Wise Men*

Antwerp (?), about 1520. Oak, traces of polychrome and gilt. Ht. 35 cm. The museum possesses 8 more parts from this altarpiece.

Five wise men in long robes, each having a different jacket and hat, are conversing. Their attitude is very solemn, with emphasis on their expressive hands.

Antwerp, Vleeshuis Museum

37. *Three Wise Men*

Description, see No. 36. Ht. 48 cm.

Antwerp, Vleeshuis Museum

38. *Christ crowned with thorns*

Antwerp (mark : hand), about 1530. Oak. Ht. 35 cm. Fragment from an altarpiece.

Christ is seated with his hands tied by a rope, a royal gown hanging around his shoulders. An executioner assisted by a Roman soldier sets the crown of thorns on Christ's head.

Antwerp, Vleeshuis Museum

39. *Three noble men*

Antwerp (mark : hand), about 1530. Polychrome and gilted oak. Ht. 43 cm. Fragment from an altarpiece.

Three noble men, with rich garments and crowns on their heads, in a forest ; on the horizon the walls of a city with battlements and wind-

mills (a typical background for Antwerp altarpieces). In front, on the left side, stands a young boy.

Antwerp, Vleeshuis Museum

40. *Beam key*

Antwerp, 1555. Oak. Ht. 55 cm.

This piece comes from a house in the Kammenstraat, where the printers' family Steelsius lived. A man sits at a desk under a round arch, lined with a huge shell. He handles a book ; more books are lying on the floor on the right and the left. Under this scene the name JOAN STEELS/IVS is written in a cartouche. (He was the founder of the booksellers—and printers—dynasty.)

Bibl. : P. Verheyden, "Uit het huis van Steelsius," in *Tijdschrift voor Boek- en Bibliotheekwezen*, 1907.

Antwerp, Vleeshuis Museum

41. *Beam Key*

Antwerp, about 1564. Oak. Ht. 58 cm.

Comes from the Town Hall, built according to plans made by Cornelis Floris de Vriendt.
Cartouche with lion, standing upright on its hindlegs ; coat-of-arms of the duchy of Brabant (the city of Antwerp belonged to this duchy).

Antwerp, Vleeshuis Museum

42. *Beam key*

Antwerp, about 1564. Oak. Ht. 58 cm.

Cartouche with castle flanked by three towers. Above the castle two hands (one is lost) with palm upwards : coat of arms of the city of Antwerp. Provenance: see No 41.

Antwerp, Vleeshuis Museum

43. *Crucifix*

Antwerp (?), about 1600. Oak. Ht. 45 cm.

Christ hanging with half-naked, lifeless twisted body, with only a waist cloth around him. The ends of the cloth fly backward. The body hangs heavily on the arms in a "V" held by a nail through each hand. The head falls forward to the left, in a painful expression, with the mouth slightly open. The long wavy hair flies backward. The anatomy of the body is accentuated, with the wound from the lance

thrust on the left. Feet are nailed one above the other (right foot on top of left) to the back of the panel. Christ's body is not nailed to a cross, but to a panel, lined with red velvet in a rectangular frame, made of rose-wood, and arched above.

Antwerp, Vleeshuis Museum

44. *Beam key*

Antwerp, dated 1613. Polychrome and gilted oak. Ht. 54 cm.

Beam key decorated with a sculptured acanthus leaf ; the middle point is turned upward in elegant lines ; above, an egg molding, and the date 1613 ; below a scroll, and a carved rosace with three burls (one is lost).

Antwerp, Vleeshuis Museum

45. *The sacrifice of Abraham*

Antwerp (?), 17th century. Palmwood. Ht. 15.5 cm. Small panel with low relief, arched on top.

Upper part of a wooden offertory box (for gathering money during services in church).
Isaac kneels on an altar (on the right) covered with branches. He is dressed in a long loose gown, bare foot showing, a belt on the waist-line. The hands are tied together (palm to palm) in a praying position. The hair is brought forward to uncover the neck. In the center, next to the altar, stands a kettle with flames. Behind, in the middle of the scene, Abraham holds the sword above his head ready to execute his son. Abraham's gown reaches the knees ; in front, a longer gown flies wildly in the wind. Over the gown, he wears a small waist jacket with short sleeves. Above, an angel, surrounded by clouds, stops the sword with both hands. The whole scene is laid in a rocky landscape, with two people and a mule on the left and, on the right, a sheep in the bushes.

Antwerp, Vleeshuis Museum

46. *Mark, the Evangelist*

High relief. Antwerp, 17th century. Polychrome oakwood. Ht. 43 cm.

The figure of Mark is shown above the waist ; the left hand resting on his chest, the fingers spreaded wide open ; the right hand lies on a book. This book rests on the head of a lion, that, flanked by two scrolls, acts as console.

Antwerp, Vleeshuis Museum

35 *Christ in sorrows, c.* 1500

37 *Three wise men, c.* 1520

38 *Christ crowned with thorns, c.* 1530

39 *Three noble men, c.* 1530

40 *Beam key from the house of the printer Steelsius*, 1555

45 *The sacrifice of Abraham*, 17th century

VI. MEDALS

Casting medals from wax was done for the first time during the first half of the 15th century by the Italian painter Pisanello, from Verona. It is possible that the artist found his inspiration in the medallions of the Roman Empire. At any rate, Pisanello's work already shows an advanced technique, and a great richness in composition. Thus, the history of medal casting begins with excellent work.

It is likely that Italian masters themselves introduced this new art into the Netherlands in the second half of the 15th century. Medals have been preserved representing the duke of Burgundy, Charles the Bold, and personalities of his court, together with one commemorating the engagement of Maximilian of Austria to Mary of Burgundy. It is supposed that they were the work of Jehan (Giovanni) Candida, the Naples-born humanist who became secretary to Charles the Bold. At any rate, these medals must have been made by a skilled Italian master. Immediate imitation of Jehan de Candida did not occur in the Netherlands. The first flemish artist to try the new art was no less a master than the great Antwerp painter Quinten Massys. He executed his medals (such as the portrait of his sister-in-law Christina Massys in 1491, and his own portrait in 1495) in a very personal and typically Flemish style. However, Quinten Massys seems to have actually been an amateur, trying his hand at the new art, in answer to the Italian challenge. And he too didn't find followers immediately.

One had to await the arrival at the court of Mary of Hungary at Brussels, in 1542, of the Italian sculptor Leone Leoni, soon followed by his countrymen Jacopo da Trezzo and Gian Paolo Poggini, before medals and medal-making became popular in the Netherlands. This was about the middle of the 16th century. During the second half of that century and the first years of the next, making medals in the Netherlands became virtually an Antwerp monopoly. The principal reason for this was that the most important mint of the Low Countries was in this city. Here the medals could be executed easily.

Moreover, some of the most important and prolific medallists, such as Jacob Jonghelinck and Jan van Montfort, were Masters at that mint. Other prominent artists were Hans Symoens, who was the first to practise the craft in Antwerp, Steven van Herwyck, who spent many years abroad, in Poland and England (where he died in 1567), and Coenraet Bloc.

Each of these specialists cast medals from a model, usually made of wax. But wax is very fragile ; accordingly more durable model mix-

tures were developed, but wax remained their basis. After casting, the piece could always be retouched. "Striking" coins (a process by which the coin is cut directly from a metal dye) started around the middle of the 16th century. This technique was in use a long time before it was applied to the production of medals. The striking technique permits a more precise relief in the final product. First, a hammer was used for striking coins and medals ; later, during the 17th century, the hammer was replaced by a screw-press.

During the 17th century, the center of gravity for making medals in the Southern Netherlands moved gradually from Antwerp to the court-city of Brussels. In this art form too, by the middle of the century, Antwerp's Golden Age had come to an end.

JEANNINE LAMBRECHTS-DOUILLEZ

JOHN SIMONS (HANS SYMOENS)
Antwerp, about 1525 - after 1580. Sculptor, brass-founder, medallist. Master in the Saint-Lucas Guild in 1547. His work shows his great ability to make detailed portraits.

47. *Frans Floris, also called Frans Devriendt, painter*, 1552

Obverse : FRANCISCVS. FLORVS PICTOR.AE. XXXII
Reverse : Clock surrounded by a bird, an oil lamp and a distaff.

Cast, lead, O 66 mm.

Antwerp, Vleeshuis Museum

JACOB JONGHELINCK
Antwerp, 1530-1606. Sculptor, brass-founder, medallist. About 1552 he made a trip to Italy. He worked in the Mint of Antwerp between 1572-1601, and lived for a while, also, in Brussels.

48. *Cardinal Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle*, 1561

Obverse : ANT. PERRENOT. S.R.E. PBRI.CARD. ARCHIEPI.MECHL.
Reverse : DVRATE. Neptunus, surrounded by waves, strikes the ship of Aeneas in the storm.

Cast, lead, O 58 mm.

Antwerp, Vleeshuis Museum

49. *Cardinal Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle*

Description : see No. 48.

Cast, silver plated messing, O 55 mm.

Antwerp, Vleeshuis Museum

50. *Joost de Damhouder*, 1566

Obverse : IODOCVS DAMHOVDERIUS EQUES AVRATVS
Reverse : SONDER VALLEN STAET DAMHOVDERE. Coat of arms.

Cast, bronze, O 59.6 mm.

Antwerp, Vleeshuis Museum

51. *Beggar's medal*, 1566

Obverse : EN TOVT FIDELLES AV ROI.

Philip II, bust turned to the left.

Reverse : IVSQVES A PORTER LA BESACE.
Beggar's wallet pierced by two hands that hold one another.

Cast and chased, silver, oval, 30 x 25 mm.

Antwerp, Vleeshuis Museum

52. *The siege of Antwerp*, 1585

Obverse : ALEXANDER FARNES. PAR. PLA. PRIN BELG DVM. GVB.
Bust of Alexander Farnese turned to the right.

Reverse : CONCIPE CER/ TAS SPES. 1585.
The river Scheldt with the fortified city on one side connected by a boat-bridge to the other where the tent of Alexander the Great may be seen with a satyre. Inscription in Greek : SATYROS.

Cast, bronze, O 45 mm.

Antwerp, Vleeshuis Museum

53. *The recapture of Lier,* 1595 (attribution to Jonghelinck not certain)

Obverse : LIRA RECEPTA.
Lady in profile to the left crowned with the castle of Antwerp, showing the two hands (palm turned upside).

Reverse : OB CIVES SERVATOS. Inside a garland of oak leaves PRID/ ID. OCT/ M.D.XCV.

Cast, lead, O 47 mm.

Antwerp, Vleeshuis Museum

54. *Justus Lipsius*, 1599

Obverse : IVSTVS. LIPSIVS. AET. LI.
Bust in profile to the right.

Reverse : MORIBVS ANTIQVIS RES STAT
ROMANA VIRISQUE
Woman with helmet in profile to the right ; on the left a wand and on the right a bundle of rods with an ax ; underneath two hands as though shaking one another.

Cast (?), silver, O 44 mm.

Antwerp, Vleeshuis Museum

55. *Margareta of Austria* (attribution to Jonghelinck not certain)

Obverse : MARGARETA. DE. AVSTRIA. DP. ET. P.
GERMANIAE. INFERIORIS. GV. B.
Bust in profile, to the right, with widow's cap.

Reverse : QUID/PREMITIS REDEAT SI NOBILIS
IRA LEONIS, 1566.
Granvelle, Margareta, and Alva put the lion under a screw-press (symbol for Inquisition).

Cast, pewter, O 60.2 mm.

Antwerp, Vleeshuis Museum

56. *Margareta of Austria* (attribution to Jonghelinck not certain)

Obverse : see description No. 55.

Reverse : FAVE/ NTE. DEO.
Goddess standing on a rock, with raised sword in one hand, and palm and olive branches in the other, near a strait and fortified city ; the four winds are blowing.

Cast, bronze, O 56 mm.

Antwerp, Vleeshuis Museum

57. *Jan Walravens, called also Oomken,* "fool" of the Brussels Guild of Rhetoric "De Korenbloem." 19th century copy of the original medal of 1563.

Obverse : MAISTRE OOMKEN PRINCE CORONNE
DES DOCTEVRS A QVATRE OREILLES
AET. 56
Bust in profile, to the right. On the left:
IAN WAL/RAVENZ. On the right :
NIET SONDER WIELLE OOM.

Reverse : none.

Cast, silver plated bronze, O 104.5 mm.

Antwerp, Vleeshuis Museum

COENRAET BLOC

Antwerp, before 1555 - about 1602. Bloc had to leave Antwerp for religious reasons in 1566 ; he came back in 1577. Master in the Saint-Lucas Guild in 1581. Worked for a while in France after 1598.

58. *Prince Maurits of Nassau*, 1602.

Obverse : MAVRITIVS. PR. AVR. CO. NASS. CAT.
MARC. VER. ET. VLIS.
Bust, with armor, in profile, to right. Underneath : CON. BLOC. F

Reverse : TANDEM. FIT. SVRCVLVS. ARBOR. 1602.
Tree surrounded by wreath of laurel leaves.

Cast, lead, O 40.3 mm.

Antwerp, Vleeshuis Museum

59. *Prince Maurits of Nassau,* 1602
Description : see No. 58, except for signature on the obverse ; in stead : G. V. B. F.
Cast, lead, O 34 mm.
Antwerp, Vleeshuis Museum

JAN VAN MONTFORT
Died around 1649. Was probably a pupil of Coenraet Bloc. He was attached to the Mint in Antwerp in 1612 and in Brussels from 1613 on.

60. *Abraham Ortelius*

Obverse : ABRAHMVS/ ORTELIVS. ANTVERP.
Head in profile, to the right.

Reverse : MΩPIA ΠAPA TΩΘEΩ.
A snake crawls out of a heap of books, around her neck a globe with a cross.

Cast, bronze, O 35 mm.

Antwerp, Vleeshuis Museum

61. *Abraham Ortelius*
Description : see No. 60.

Cast, lead, O 34 mm.
Antwerp, Vleeshuis Museum

62. *The Archdukes Albert and Isabella*, 1599

Obverse : ALBERTVS. D. G. ARCHID. AVST. D.
BVR. BR.C. FL. DNS. FR.
Bust in profile to the right. Signature underneath : MONF.

Reverse : ELISABETA. D. G. INF. HISP. D/ BVR.
BRA. C. FL. HOL. ZE.

Bust in profile to the left.

Cast (?), bronze, O 38.7 mm.

Antwerp, Vleeshuis Museum

63. *The Archdukes Albert and Isabella*, 1599
Description : see No. 62, except for the signature on the obverse (it is not readable).

Cast, bronze, O 38.3 mm.

Antwerp, Vleeshuis Museum

64. *Archduchess Isabella, as queen of an archer's guild (schuttersgilde)*, 1615

Obverse : ELISABETA. D. G. INF. HISP. DBVR/.
BRA. CO. FL. HOL. ZE.
Bust in profile to the left.

Reverse : Between two crossbows St. George and the dragon ; on top the initials A and I (Archdukes Albert and Isabella), under a crown and between the date 16/ 15.

Cast, gilded brass, O 41 mm.

Antwerp, Vleeshuis Museum

ANONYMOUS

65. *The demolition of the Antwerp citadel*, 1577

Obverse : RESTITVTIO. R. P. ANTVERP 1577.
People demolishing the citadel.

Reverse : VINDICATA. LIBERTAS. CONCORDIA ; under a high hat, symbol of freedom, two shaking hands.

Cast (?), lead with brown color, O 37.8 mm.

Antwerp, Vleeshuis Museum

66. *Allegorical Representation*, end of the 16th century

Obverse : CHARITAS. OMNIA. SVFFERT.
A mother sitting surrounded by four children.

Reverse : ARTIBVS. QVISITA. GLORIA.
Naked man, sitting next to a fire (Vulcanus ?), being crowned with laurels by a standing goddess : Athena.

Cast, silver, O 52.7 mm.

Antwerp, Vleeshuis Museum

47

49

51

50

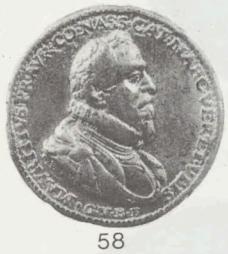
52

56

54

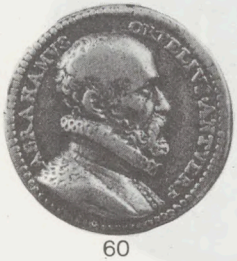
47 Hans Symoens, *Portrait of Frans Floris*, 1552 (obverse)
49 Jacob Jonghelinck, *Portrait of Cardinal Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle*, 1561 (obverse)
50 Jacob Jonghelinck, *Portrait of Joost de Damhouder*, 1566 (obverse)
51 Jacob Jonghelinck, *Beggar's medal*, 1566 (obverse and reverse)
52 Jacob Jonghelinck, *The siege of Antwerp*, 1585 (obverse and reverse)
54 Jacob Jonghelinck, *Portrait of Justus Lipsius*, 1599 (obverse and reverse)
56 Jacob Jonghelinck (attributed to), *Portrait of Margareta of Austria*, 1566 (obverse)

57



58

62



60

64

57 Jacob Jonghelinck, *Portrait of Jan Walravens, "fool" of a Brussels Rhetoric chamber*, 1563
58 Coenraet Bloc, *Portrait of Prince Maurits of Nassau*, 1602 (obverse)
60 Jan van Montfort, *Portrait of Abraham Ortelius* (obverse)
62 Jan van Montfort, *Portrait of Archdukes Albert and Isabella*, 1599 (obverse and reverse)
64 Jan van Montfort, *Archduchess Isabella as queen of an archer's guild*, 1615 (obverse and reverse)

VII. THE GRAPHIC ARTS

In Antwerp the graphic arts as well as the typographic arts gained momentum only when the city became the market-place of Western Europe. To produce on a remunerative scale the practitioners of the two crafts needed capital to pay their suppliers and employees while awaiting the slow returns from their sales. In its Golden Age Antwerp could procure both capital and international markets. From the beginning years of the 16th century, parallel with its rise to a metropolis, the city became the greatest graphic and typographic center of the Netherlands and one of the most important, if not the most important, of Western Europe. It kept this leading position until the middle of the 17th century, when the general decline of artistic and cultural life in the Southern Netherlands also affected the graphic and typographic activity.

Until Senefelder invented lithography at the end of the 18th century, there were only two means to render and reproduce pictures or drawings on a large scale : the woodcut and the intaglio-copperprint (with its two possibilities : the engraving and the etching).

Both methods were already known in the 14th-15th centuries. The woodcut is the cheapest and the easiest to operate : the wood-block can be cut quickly and printed on the typographic presses at high speed (in the Plantinian printing office as many as 2,500 reproductions per press in a "normal" working day from 6 a.m. till 8 p.m.). The copperengraving needs a far more expensive medium—a copperplate ; the cutting is more difficult, the reproduction on special intaglio-presses is time-consuming and demanding.

Consequently, in Antwerp, as elsewhere, in the first half of the 16th century, the woodcut dominated print-production and book-illustration. The intaglio-print, however, can render nuances and tones far better than the woodcut. Amateurs began to prefer them to woodcuts and were willing to pay the difference in price. In print-production, the intaglio-engraving gained the upperhand about the middle of the 16th century and soon completely ousted the woodcut.

But the latter could keep its position in book-illustration for some time, since, as noted, an intaglio-print has to be printed on a different press than the typographical text—unnecessary in woodcut printing. Ultimately the intaglio-print won this battle too. Plantin was one of the first in Antwerp and in Western Europe to risk the venture with the publication, in 1566, of the medical treatise by Andreas Vesalius and Juan Valverda, *Vivae imagines partium corporis humanani.* The gam-

ble was a success, and Plantin's example was quickly followed by others. In book-illustration, however, the woodcut would continue to fight some successful rear-guard actions. The woodcut continued to be used in scientific treatises, in cheap editions, for initials, "culs de lampe," and other small reproductions.

Another aspect must be considered when judging the reproducible graphic arts of the time... Woodcut and engraving required highly developed skill. Etching, on the other hand, is merely drawing with a stylus on a wax or varnish-covered plate ; an acid bites away the parts which the stylus has exposed. To make woodcuts and engravings one needs a long and careful apprenticeship ; etching is something any technical-minded amateur can try.

In the 16th and 17th centuries a few creative artists in Antwerp tried etching, and their efforts were often worthwhile. The painter Frans Floris in the 16th century was not especially successful, but Anthony van Dyck, in the following century, produced a series of high quality etched portraits that are still regarded as valuable collection pieces. The draughtsmen Frans Hogenberg, Joris Hoefnagel, and Peter van der Borcht produced large numbers of etchings, both as individual prints and as book-illustrations. If not always reaching the highest artistic levels, they vividly depict the deeds, the houses, and the cities of their contemporaries. These etchings are among the most interesting documents on the life of Renaissance-Europe.

Some amateurs, then, won recognition in the history of Antwerp's graphic art by their etchings, but this "easy" method was scorned by most professionals who preferred the woodcut and engraving.

The most talented of the professionals (often painters or draughtsmen as well)—Cornelis Bos (*c.* 1506-1556), Dirk Vellert (master in 1511), Cornelis Massys (*c.* 1508-about 1557), Frans Huys, Hieronymus Cock, Philip Galle and his pupils, the Wiericx brothers—sometimes worked from their own designs, but generally they and their less gifted colleagues contented themselves with rendering into woodcut or copperengraving the pictorial work of others : woodcuts and engravings were essentially a form of reproduction-art. The prints in that time, in Antwerp and elsewhere, played in fact the same functional role as today's photographic reproductions—but this does not mean that they were not genuine expressions of art, in their own way.

To provide a complete list of talented woodcutters and engravers who exercised these crafts in Antwerp would be a tedious undertaking. Typical of the metropolis are the publishers of prints and print-albums, generally engravers themselves, who often employed large numbers of specialists in their studios and aimed for the larger regional and international markets.

At first most of them were specialized in woodcuts, but (generally in their later years) some of them published also copperengravings. Among them Jan Mollyns (master in 1532, working until 1558), Silvester van Parys (master in 1538, working until 1571), Willem Liefrinck (master in 1528, died 1542), and his son Hans (*c.* 1518-1578, master in 1538). Others were from the beginning interested in engravings, as Melchisedech van Hoorn (working from 1550 till 1575), Gerard de Jode (1509 or 1517-1591, master in 1547, later specialized in map-production), father and son Aegidius Sadeler (father : master in 1580, died after 1601 ; son : 1570-1629, master in 1589), Abraham de Bruyn (*c.* 1540-1587).

Two giants dominated this first phase in the history of the Antwerp graphic school : Hieronymus Cock and Philip Galle. Cock, engraver, painter, humanist (*c.* 1507-1570), may be considered to have been the most important publisher of prints of his time. His firm "In the Vier Winden" (In the Four Winds) enjoyed as enviable an international reputation in the graphic arts field as that of his friend Plantin in the typographical market. Cock was fortunate in getting Peter Bruegel the Elder interested in producing large numbers of designs for reproduction. He was also fortunate in engaging the only important Italian engraver who settled down in the Netherlands, Giorgio Ghisi (1520-1528 ; at work with Cock in 1551) and some of the finest craftsmen of the Netherlands of that time, including Frans Huys (*c.* 1522 - *c.* 1562), Peter van der Heyden, who named himself a Merica (*c.* 1530-1576 ; master in 1557), Cornelis Cort (1533 or 1536-1578 ; working for Cock but not residing in Antwerp).

Succeeding to Cock as the great international publisher of prints was Philip Galle (1537-1612 ; master in 1572) established "In de Witte Lelie" (In the White Lily). He inundated the European market with his own prints and albums, and those of members of his family : his sons Theodoor (*c.* 1570—1633 ; master in 1596) and Cornelis (*c.* 1576-1650 ; master in 1610), and his sons-in-law Adrian Collaert (*c.* 1560-1618 ; master in 1580) and Charles de Mallery (*c.* 1576-after 1631 ; master in 1597).

Special mention must be made of the Wiericx brothers—Jan (*c.* 1548-after 1615 ; master in 1572), Hieronymus (*c.* 1553-1620 ; master in 1572), and Anton (died in 1604 ; master in 1590). Working as freelance artists for publishers of prints and books, they were the most talented and productive engravers of contemporary Europe—notwithstanding the difficulties their employers had in keeping them out of the taverns and brothels.

From the start, the Renaissance spirit dominated Antwerp print-production, but by way of Germany at first. For many years Durer

stamped his seal on Antwerp graphic art. Gradually, however, Italian influences began to be felt—but blending with the Netherland tradition into a highly original style. This "Antwerp Style" had, from the latter part of the 16th century on, a great impact on the whole of Western and Northern Europe—indirectly by way of prints and book-illustrations distributed by Antwerp publishers, and directly by the "export" of Antwerp engravers themselves. Imported Antwerp artists, for example, originated the Parisian engraver's school in the late 16th century.

In the first half of the 17th century, the Galle-firm continued to deluge the national and international markets with countless prints and albums ; they made equally numerous book-illustrations. The Galle's and some minor firms, together with the phenomenal Wiericx brothers, continued the old Antwerp tradition of printmaking and print-publishing until about 1620. At that time a new group of engravers appeared, centering around the personality of Rubens and called the "School of Rubens." The great master of the Flemish Baroque had a keen eye for publicity and moneymaking. He began thinking about founding an engraver's school which could render his paintings into copper. He located a talented recruit in Lucas Vorsterman, newly established in Antwerp. Others followed, the most brilliant being, besides Vorsterman (1595-1675 ; master in 1618), Boetius a Bolswert (*c.* 1580-1633 ; master in Antwerp in 1620) and his brother Schelte (*c.* 1581-1659 ; master in 1625), and Paulus Pontius (1603-1658 ; master in 1626). They occasionally worked for publishers and printers, but they were essentially artists wo published Rubenian art with their engravings—in close contact with (and often for the benefit of) the master. In this group is also to be found the only important woodcut artist of 17th century Antwerp, Christopher Jegher (1596-1652 ; master in 1627). He appears at first sight somewhat as a relic of a long gone past, when woodcuts dominated graphic art, but what he produced was as beautiful and sensitive as that realized by his colleagues working with copper. Jegher ranks among the greatest graphic artists of the 17th century, and one is inclined to consider him as the greatest woodcut master of that time in the whole of Europe.

After 1650 the decline set in. The grandsons of Philip Galle continued the firm and other engravers were still to be found in Antwerp, but they were only unsuccessful emulators of the great masters. With the passing of time, quantity declined as well as the quality. Before the turn of the century, Antwerp had ceased to be an important center of graphic art.

LEON VOET

SILVESTER VAN PARYS
Woodcutter and publisher of prints.
Pupil of Willem Liefrinck in 1528. Master in the Saint-Lucas Guild in 1538; active until after 1571.

67. *The King of Tunis*

Woodcut, hand-colored, 39 x 28.7 cm., dated 1535.

Only two copies known (the other in the Bibliothèque nationale at Paris). Portrait of Mulay Hassan, bey of Tunis, who, driven out of his realm by the Turkish pirate Chair-ed-din Barbarossa, had sought help from Emperor Charles V. This led to the campaign of Tunis, 1535, in which the city was taken by the imperial army and Mulay Hassan was restored on his throne. Clearly shown in this portrait is the orthopedic brace on the right hand of Mulay Hassan.

Antwerp, Print Room

JAN MOLLYNS
Woodcutter and publisher of prints. Pupil of Willem Liefrinck. Master in the Saint-Lucas Guild in 1532; worked until 1558.

68. *Portrait of Francesco Donato, Doge of Venice*

Woodcut, hand-colored, 52.7 x 35.4 cm.

Only known copy of this powerful if crude print, published in 1554. The border is reminiscent of Antwerp's so-called Floris, or grotesque, style of those years, but executed with less refinement and imagination. Mollyns may have followed here his unknown Italian model.

Antwerp, Print Room

HANS (JOHN) LIEFRINCK
Woodcutter and publisher of prints. Son of the engraver Willem Liefrinck, Antwerp or Augsburg, about 1518—Antwerp, February 1578. Master in the Saint-Lucas Guild in 1538.

69. *Portrait of Emperor Charles V on horseback and in armor*

Woodcut, hand-colored, 40.6 x 27.7 cm.

The edition of woodcut-portraits of sovereigns and prominent nobles of the Netherlands was the great speciality of Hans Liefrinck (which he shared in Antwerp with Silvester van Parys). They are all in the same style—crude and naive—but not without a sense of grandeur.

Antwerp, Print Room

ANONYMOUS MASTER

After drawings by Peter Coecke van Aalst: *Aalst (Alost), 14 August 1502—Brussels, 6 December 1550 ; master in the Saint-Lucas Guild in 1527. Humanist, painter, and designer (of wall tapestries and architectural motives) ; deeply influenced by Italian Renaissance art, which he helped promote in the Netherlands.*

70. *View of Constantinople*

Woodcut, 29.5 x 45 cm.

In the foreground a procession accompanying a Moslim-child to be circumcised.

71. *A caravan somewhere in the Balkan*

Woodcut, 29.5 x 46.5 cm.

P. Coecke went to Constantinople in 1533, probably on a business-trip (it is supposed on behalf of te Brussels manufacturer of wall tapestries Van der Moeyen). He must have made a number of sketches of what he saw on this voyage. They were cut into wood by an anonymous master, and published, three years after his death, in 1553, by his widow Mayken (Maria) Verhulst, in an illustrated album. The known copies have a French title and French legends. It may be assumed that there were also editions with Dutch text, but the album is, consequently, known after the French title : *Moeurs e fachon de faire de Turcz.* It has 14 woodcuts depicting 7 scenes, forming together a frieze of 4.53 meter length. One of the first illustrated travel reports in history, brilliantly executed, and with great documentary value.

Antwerp, Print Room

THE ENGRAVING IN THE 16th AND THE BEGINNING OF THE 17th CENTURY

HIERONYMUS COCK

Antwerp, about 1507-1570. Talented engraver but known primarily as the first great Antwerp publisher of prints. See also Nos. 15 and 91.

72. *Alpine landscape*

Etching and copperengraving, 36.8 x 46.8 cm.

Ascribed to Hieronymus Cock, who at any rate was the publisher ;

after a drawing by Peter Bruegel the Elder, probably about 1557-1558
In the tradition of the time Peter Bruegel went to Italy (1552-1553). Unlike so many of his compatriots he didn't return overwhelmed by Italian Renaissance art, but rather under the spell of the wild beauty of the Alps. He made some of the finest drawings of Alpine scenery. A number of them, including this magnificent landscape, were rendered into copperengravings and published by Hieronymus Cock.

Antwerp, Print Room

73. *Divi Caroli V imp. opt. max. victoriae*, 1563

In - quarto, oblong.

Series of 12 engravings (15.6 x 23.2 cm.) by Dirk Volckertz. Coornhert (humanist and engraver ; Amsterdam, 1519 - Gouda, 1590) after drawings by Maarten Heemskerck, illustrating the triumphs of Emperor Charles V (including No. 6 : the Spanish victory over the "cannibals" in America). Under each engraving, explanatory verses in Latin, Spanish, and French. A dedication to King Philip II by H. Cock prefaces the album.
The first edition appeared in 1556 (and in fact the date of 1555 figures on No. 6, and the date of 1556 on No. 1) ; other editions followed in 1558, 1560 and 1563. There are later editions by Philip Galle, C. de Mallery and John Boel.

Antwerp, Print Room

FRANS HUYS

Engraver. Antwerp, from about 1522 to about 1562. Master in the Saint-Lucas Guild in 1546. Worked mostly for Hieronymus Cock, but also produced book-illustrations. See also No. 94.

74. *Ship under sail*

Copperengraving, 28.9 x 21.7 cm.

One of a series of twelve prints engraved by Frans Huys after drawings by Peter Bruegel the Elder, and published by Hieronymus Cock, probably about 1561-1562. A very accurate set of reproductions of contemporary vessels with great descriptive value.

Antwerp, Print Room

GERARD DE JODE

Engraver and publisher. Nymegen, 1509 or 1517—Antwerp, 1591. Master in the Saint-Lucas Guild in 1547. In his later years he specialized in maps and atlases. See also No. 120.

75. HANS VREDEMAN DE VRIES, *Grottesco in diversche manieren...* Antwerp, Gerard de Jode, 1554.

In - quarto, oblong.

Series of 14 plates (this copy incomplete) showing the exuberant grotesque-ornamentation so typical of 16th century Antwerp. The style, inspired by Italian examples but adapted to Flemish taste, was probably "invented" by the Antwerp sculptor and designer Cornelis Floris and/or the engraver Cornelis Bos about 1540-45, and met instant success in the Low Countries. This album "Grottesco in different manners very elegant, beautiful and convenient for painters, painters on glass, sculptors and all people who like the gracious ornaments of the antiques," engraved by an anonymous artist, was one of the very first series issued by Hans Vredeman de Vries. Engineer; architect, painter, and designer De Vries (1527 - after 1604) popularized the Italian Renaissance style in architecture and decoration through his albums and exerted great influence outside the Low Countries, especially in England and the Scandinavian countries.

Antwerp, Print Room

PHILIP GALLE

Haarlem, 1537 - Antwerp, 1612. Master in the Saint-Lucas Guild in 1570, dean of the Guild in 1585-1587. A talented engraver and a humanist, Galle became, after the death of Hieronymus Cock (1570), also the foremost Antwerp publisher of prints, with an international reputation. In his studio he worked mostly with his sons Theodoor and Cornelis, and his sons-in-law, Adrian Collaert and Charles de Mallery.

76. *The Alchimist*

Copperengraving, 32.5 x 44 cm.

Satiric print on the evils of alchimism, leading practitioners straight to the poor house. Ascribed very convincingly to Philip Galle, but published by Hieronymus Cock, after a drawing by Peter Bruegel the Elder. The original drawing, in the Printroom of the Museum of Berlin, is signed and dated "Bruegel 1558." Signature and date are questioned, but the composition is certainly of Bruegel and the date of the drawing—and of the engraving—may indeed be 1558.

Antwerp, Print Room

77. *Encomium Musices*

S.d. (about 1600). In - quarto, oblong.

Series of 19 engravings, 22 x 28.3 cm., consisting of 18 illustrations af-

ter drawings by Joannes Stradanus (Van der Straet ; Bruges, 1523 - Florence, 1605 ; master in the Saint-Lucas Guild in 1545, but living mostly in Italy), and a frontispiece, probably to a design either by Philip Galle or the two artists who executed the engravings, Adrian Collaert and Theodoor Galle (the latter probably made but one engraving, No. 16). Preceded by a page in typography, being a foreword by Philip Galle to the lovers of music. Each illustration with engraved Latin verses by Joannes Bochius, secretary of the city of Antwerp. The series represents scenes from the Old and New Testament in which music plays an important role. The frontispiece is remarkable in that it shows a border of music instruments surrounded by allegorical figures, and two pages of a book, with the music and the text of a motet in six voices, "Nata et grata polo," especially composed for the occasion by the Antwerp composer Andries Pevernage. (On this composer see also No. 122.)

Antwerp, Print Room

78. *Nova reperta* Antwerp, Jan Galle, s.d.

In - quarto, oblong.

Series of 20 engravings, 20.3 x 27.3 cm. (1 frontispiece, 19 illustrations) (this copy incomplete : 2 engravings missing) after drawings by Joannes Stradanus (see No. 77). Two of the drawings (printing-office and engraving-studio) are preserved in Windsor Castle, a third (gayac) in Brunswick.

The original edition was published by Philip Galle, without date given. The engravings were executed by Philip's son Theodoor Galle, and Adrian Collaert. This edition was re-issued by Jan Galle, son of Theodoor (1600-1676 ; master of the Galle-studio in 1633), who systematically put his name as publisher (Ioan. Galle excudit) on all the engravings.

The nova reperta or "new discoveries" give an interesting pictorial description of some important inventions—old and new—and discoveries, including : America (Amerigo Vespucci with a Caribian woman), Lapis polaris magnes (compass), pulvis pyrius (casting of guns), impressio librorum (printing office), horologia ferrea (clock-making), hyacum et lues venerea (gayac-wood as remedy against syphilis), distillatio (distillation), ser sive sericus vernis (silk-production), staphae sive stapedes (stirrups), mola aquaria (water-mill), mola alata (wind-mill), oleum olivarum (olive-oil), saccharum (sugar), politura armorum (armor-making), orbis longitudines repertae e magnetis a polo declinatione (magnetic pole), sculptura in aes (copperengraving), astrolabium (showing Amerigo Vespucci).

Antwerp, Print Room

ABRAHAM DE BRUYN
Engraver and publisher of prints. Antwerp, about 1540 - Cologne, 1587.

79. *Omnium pene Europae, Asiae, Aphricae atque Americae gentium habitus.* Antwerp, 1581.

In - quarto, oblong.

Series of 68 engravings by Abraham de Bruyn, showing the costumes of the time (this copy incomplete, containing only 28 engravings, but nicely colored by hand).
A first edition with 50 engravings was published by De Bruyn in Cologne in 1577. When publishing the second volume at Antwerp in 1581, De Bruyn added 18 plates.

Antwerp, Print Room

ANONYMOUS MASTER
After Crispin van den Broeck *(painter ; Malines, 1524 - Antwerp, 1591 ; master in the Saint-Lucas Guild in 1555).*

80. *The Circumcision*

Print, in two colors, in a combination of etching and woodcut (the plate with the olive-green undertone and the light-effects in woodcut ; the actual representation in etching with some engraving-tool-strokes), 24 x 24 cm.

Out of a series of five, depicting scenes of the Life of the Virgin and the Child Jesus. One print bears the date 1571 and the whole series was probably executed in that year. Shown on some of them is the monogram of Crispin van den Broeck (likely not the woodcutter-etcher but the designer).

Antwerp, Print Room

JAN WIERICX
Engraver. The eldest of the three Wiericx brothers. Antwerp, about 1549 - after 1615. Master in the Saint-Lucas Guild in 1572.

81. *Elijah taken to heaven*

Copperengraving, 25 x 20.2 cm.

Published by De Sadeler, after a design by Marten de Vos.

Antwerp, Print Room

HIERONYMUS WIERICX
Engraver. The second of the three Wiericx brothers. Antwerp, about 1553-1620. Master in the Saint-Lucas Guild in 1572.

82. *Portrait of Henriette Balzac d'Entragues, marchioness of Verneuil, mistress of Henry IV, King of France*

Copperengraving, 34.7 x 25.3 cm. Dated 1600. First published by Paul de la Houve, Paris.

In this copy the address of de la Houve—at the bottom right—has been replaced by that of Harman Adolfz of Haarlem.

Antwerp, Print Room

ANTON WIERICX

Engraver. The youngest of the Wiericx brothers. Master in the Saint-Lucas Guild in 1590. Died at Antwerp in March 1604. His son Anton (Antwerp, March 1596-1624 ; master in 1621) was also an engraver. The works of father and son are not easily distinguished from each other, and are generally presented under the name of the former.

83. *Cain killing Abel*

Copperengraving, 27.7 x 20 cm.

The inscription at the bottom says that Anton Wiericx also "invented" the engraving (made the design) and published it. In a later version Anton Wiericx is named as the engraver, and his brother, Hieronymus, as the publisher (Ant. Wiercx fecit. Hieronymus Wiercx excudit).

Antwerp, Print Room

THE SCHOOL OF RUBENS

LUCAS VORSTERMAN

Engraver. Bommel (Gelre), 1595-Antwerp, 1675. Master in the Saint-Lucas Guild in 1618 ; worked from 1624 till 1630 in England.

84. *The Chaste Susanne*

Copperengraving, 39.2 x 27.9 cm.

Engraved and published by Vorsterman in 1620. Second state (date of 1620 removed).

After an unknown painting by P. P. Rubens. The preparatory drawing by Vorsterman is preserved in the British Museum, London.

Antwerp, Print Room

85. *The flight to Egypt*

Copperengraving, 41.6 x 31.4 cm.

Engraved and published by Vorsterman and dated 1620. After the painting by P. P. Rubens, preserved in Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Connectitut (U.S.A.).

Antwerp, Print Room

BOETIUS A BOLSWERT

Engraver. Elder brother of Schelte. Bolsward (Frisia), about 1580-Brussels, 25 March 1633. Master in the Saint-Lucas Guild in 1620.

86. *The judgment of Salomon*

Copperengraving, 43.3 x 51.4 cm.

Engraved and published by B. a Bolswert. After the painting by P. P. Rubens, preserved in the Museum of Copenhagen.

Antwerp, Print Room

SCHELTE A BOLSWERT

Engraver. Younger brother of Boetius. Bolsward (Frisia), about 1581 - Antwerp, 12 December 1659. Master in the Saint-Lucas Guild in 1625, but worked in Antwerp at least from 1617.

87. *Landscape with Philemon and Baucis*

Copperengraving, 47.7 x 64.2 cm.

Published at Antwerp by Gilles Hendricx. One of the series "Great Landscapes" executed after paintings by P. P. Rubens. The original painting by Rubens is in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

Antwerp, Print Room

88. *Landscape with wagon*

Copperengraving, 33.2 x 44.6 cm.

Published at Antwerp by Martin van den Ende. One of the series "Small Landscapes" executed after paintings by P. P. Rubens. The original painting by Rubens is in the Hermitage, Leningrad.

Antwerp, Print Room

PAULUS PONTIUS

Engraver. Antwerp, 27 May 1603 - 16 January 1658. Pupil of Lucas Vorsterman. Master in the Saint-Lucas Guild in 1626.

89. *Portrait of Cardinal-Infant Ferdinand, Governor-General of the Spanish Netherlands*

Copperengraving, 45.3 x 33.8 cm.

Illustration after Rubens for the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi*, the lavishly illustrated description of the solemnal entry of Cardinal-Infant Ferdinand in Antwerp in April 1635, published in 1642.

Antwerp, Print Room

CHRISTOPHER JEGHER

The only important Antwerp woodcutter of the 17th century and one of the greatest of that century. Of German origin (with his real name Jegherendorf) ; Antwerp, 24 August 1596-1652. He executed many woodcuts for Rubens and worked also for the Officina Plantiniana.

90. *Hercules killing the hydra*

Woodcut, 61 x 35.6 cm.

After the painting by Rubens on the ceiling of the Banqueting Hall, Whitehall (London). A corrected copy of the woodcut (by Rubens?) is preserved in the Print Room of the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris.

Antwerp, Print Room

ICONOGRAPHIC SECTION

HIERONYMUS COCK

See No. 72

91. *Birdseye view of the city of Antwerp*, 1557

Engraving, 36 x 44 cm.

The first detailed plan of Antwerp after the erection of the new ramparts, 1542-1545. The general outline of the city and the important buildings are clearly given. Above, from left to right : the arms of the Duchy of Brabant, of Philip II, and of the Margraviate of Antwerp.

Antwerp, Print Room

MELCHISEDECH VAN HOORN

Engraver, working in Antwerp from about 1550 till 1575.

92. *Three views of the City of Antwerp*, 1557

Engraving, 34.5 x 45.5 cm., with inscriptions in Dutch, Latin, French, Spanish, and English.

Above : the city as seen from the Southeast ; in the middle : the city as seen from the Scheldt ; underneath : the city as seen from the Northeast.

Antwerp, Print Room

PAUWELS (PAUL) VAN OVERBEKE
Antwerp woodcutter.

93. *View of the City of Antwerp in 1568*

Woodcut, 28 x 47 cm.; underneath a typographical text in French and Dutch, enumerating the places of interest as shown on the map.

The left-side of the woodcut is in fact a pasted-on addition. Van Overbeke made his woodcut in or before 1566. It shows, consequently, the city as depicted in the view of Hieronymus Cock. In 1567-1568, after the Calvinist rebellion, the Duke of Alva had a citadel built at the Southside of Antwerp, in order to control the city. The appearance of the town was completely altered. Van Overbeke had to modify his map, but unwilling to recut the whole block, he delineated Alva's citadel, and pasted this addition onto the older woodcut-print of the city.

Antwerp, Print Room

FRANS HUYS
See No. 74

94. *Skating in the city-moat, near the Emperor's Gate*

Engraving, 23.2 x 29.7 cm.

After a drawing by Peter Bruegel the Elder (dated 1558), published by Hieronymus Cock, about 1558-1561.
The joys of skating on the river Scheldt, or on the city-moats, was a favorite subject of 16th century Antwerp painters and graphic artists. Bruegel made of it a masterpiece of colorful realism. The engraver copied Bruegel's drawing but forgot that the print would give a mirror's image of the original. While not reversing the view, to some extent he changed the actual features in the drawing : what is shown on the right (including for example the Saint Georges Church in the background) was in fact to be seen to the left, and vice-versa.

Antwerp, Print Room

JORIS HOEFNAGEL
See No. 21

95. *Ice-joy on the frozen river Scheldt before Antwerp in 1563*

Etching, 34 x 49 cm.

The scene is seen from the dike of the "Vlaams Hoofd" (Flemish Head), looking over the Scheldt toward the city, which stands dimly

and pale through the fog. The "Werf" or principal quay of the city with the great crane and the smaller quays can, however, be very neatly distinguished. On the river itself large numbers of Antwerp citizens enjoy skating and pirouetting on the ice. It may be assumed that this is a sketch of the actual scene as observed by Hoefnagel in the winter of 1563, and not a fanciful reconstruction.

Antwerp, Print Room

FRANS HOGENBERG

Engraver. Malines, about 1540 - Cologne, about 1590. He made a series of etchings depicting the revolt of the Netherlands against Spain. They first appeared in the chronicle of the revolt by Michel Aitsinger, De Leone Belgico, *Cologne, 1583 and 1585, but were also published separately or in albums with occasional additions. In this series of snapshots of the struggle against Spain, Antwerp was often represented. Hogenberg was not an eyewitness to most of the Antwerp scenes he depicted, but he knew the city very well and received first hand information. His etchings are, consequently, interesting, if not always for the accuracy of the scenes, but for the general aspect of the city in those troublesome days.*

96. *The "hedges preaches" around Antwerp in June-July 1566*

Etching, 20.5 x 27 cm.

Calvinism as all the other forms of Protestantism was persecuted in the Netherlands by the Habsburg rulers. But gaining more and more followers of all classes of society, the Calvinist ministers finally, in June-July 1566, dared to come into the open ; they started what has been called the "hedges preaches,"—semi-clandestine gatherings immediately outside the big cities—in which the doctrine of Calvin was propagated. Having no police nor troops to counter these mass-demonstrations, the central and local governments took no action. In this etching Hogenberg depicts three "hedges preaches" at the same time in the immediate neighborhood of Antwerp : to the left a large crowd near the chapel of Kiel, an Antwerp suburb, is listening to the teachings of the Lutheran priest of the parish (encouraged by the success of the Calvinists, the Lutherans, too, had started an open action) ; in the foreground, to the left "Walsche" (French speaking) and to the right "Calvinsche" (Dutch speaking) sympathisers are crowding around Calvinist ministers. Armed volunteers stand guard against possible action by the authorities.

Antwerp, Print Room

97. *The massacre at Oosterweel, 13 March 1567*

Etching, 21 x 27.5 cm.

The "hedges preaches" led to the Iconoclast-outburst in August 1566, and the open rising of Calvinist factions in the Netherlands. Antwerp became one of the foremost citadels of militant Calvinism. The government, however, reacted and raised troops to quell the revolt. On 13 March 1567, a small Calvinist army, consisting largely of raw recruits, was surprised at Oosterweel, a small village along the Scheldt immediately to the North of Antwerp, and slain almost to the last man. The outcome of this slaughter did dampen the last hopes of the Calvinists to withstand the royal armies : in a general *sauve-qui-peut* the defeated elements fled the country.

Antwerp, Print Room

98. *Calvinist unrest at Antwerp, 13-15 March 1567*

Etching, 21 x 27.5 cm.

The Calvinists in Antwerp saw with bitterness and furor the slaying of their companions at Oosterweel without being able to intervene. They tried to seize power in the city itself, and made of the Meirbrug, in the center of the city, an entrenchment manned with guns taken from the city-armories. Prince William of Orange, at that moment governor of Antwerp, tried in vain to calm their ardor. Two days passed in a tense atmosphere in which one spark could have kindled a furious battle. Finally, on 15 March, under pressure from the Catholics and Lutherans, who had also taken up arms and had surrounded the Meirbrug, the Calvinists laid down their arms. A few days later they fled the city en masse. In this picture, Hogenberg shows the futile attempt of Prince William and his companions to placate the irate Calvinists (below) and the taking of the city-armories by the extremists (above).

Antwerp, Print Room

99. *The Spanish fury, 4 November 1576 : the struggle before the Town Hall*

Etching, 20.5 x 27 cm.

In 1576 the whole of the Netherlands arose against Philip II. The Spanish troops, attacked from all sides, concentrated finally in the citadel of Antwerp. On Sunday, 4 November 1576, they took the initiative and left the citadel for a brusque and violent charge against the city. The detachments guarding the approaches of the citadel were quickly overrun and as the authorities had neglected to mobilize the Antwerp citizens in time, the attackers had an easy game. They met the fiercest resistance in and around the Town Hall, but after fire was put to the building, the last defenders fled.

Antwerp, Print Room

100. *The Spanish fury, 4 November 1576 : plundering soldiers in the streets*

Etching, 21 x 27.5 cm.

Having taken Antwerp, the Spanish soldiers and their German companions looted the city for three days before discipline was restored.

Antwerp, Print Room

101. *The siege of Antwerp, 1584-1585*

Etching, 23 x 32 cm.

In 1576 the whole of the Netherlands joined the rebellion against Spain. Catholics and Calvinists, however, remained divided and from 1579 onward their quarrels enabled the capable governor of Philip II, Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma, to again take the initiative. Antwerp was the last city in the South to capitulate after a siege which lasted more than a year. Alexander Farnese didn't try to take Antwerp by storm but surrounded the city in order to starve the population. Highways and roads were easily cut, but Philip's governor found it more difficult to blockade the Scheldt-route leading to Zealand. Both parties cut the dikes and flooded the polder-areas to the North of Antwerp, but Farnese could capture the dikes along both banks of the river near Ordam and Callo and there between them he built his famous boat-bridge, which prevented the blockade-runners of Zealand and Holland from entering Antwerp-harbor, thus sealing the ultimate fate of the city. On this etching of Hogenberg is shown, in accurate detail, the flooded areas to the North of Antwerp, with the boat-bridge, and the small fortresses and blockhouses with which besiegers and besieged had dotted the countryside.

Antwerp, Print Room

102. *The raid against the boat-bridge of Farnese, 4 April 1585*

Etching, 22 x 26.5 cm.

Antwerp tried to break Farnese's blockade and open the sea-lane to Zealand, by a raid against the boat-bridge. Two "infernal ships," driving giant bombs, built at the instructions of an Italian engineer living in Antwerp, Federico Giannibelli, were sent against the bridge. One of them ran along the bank and exploded without doing much harm, but the second hit the bridge, destroying a large part of it and killing some 500 soldiers. Alexander Farnese himself escaped only by a miracle. The Dutch relief-float, however, which was awaiting the explosions to advance toward Antwerp, for reasons never fully disclosed, failed to enter into action.

Antwerp, Print Room

103. *The entry of Alexander Farnese into Antwerp, 27 August 1585*

Etching, 21 x 26.5 cm.

Unable to force the blockade, Antwerp had to capitulate on 17 August 1585 on very honorable conditions. Ten days later the victor entered the city through the Emperor's Gate, accompanied only by a small force in order to spare the feelings of Antwerp's citizens. Antwerp was again solidly in Spanish hands.

Antwerp, Print Room

WENZEL HOLLAR

Engraver. Prague, 1607 - London, 1677. He worked at Antwerp between 1644 and 1649.

104. *The proclamation of the treaty of Munster (or Westphalia) in the great Market at Antwerp, 5 June 1648*

Etching, 22 x 33 cm., after a design by the artist, published at Antwerp by F. van Wijngaerde. The original copperplate (with revised text) is still preserved in the Antwerp Print Room.

The treaty of Munster put an end to the "Eighty Years War" between Spain and the United Provinces (Northern Netherlands). The clauses were not very satisfactory for the inhabitants of the Spanish Southern Netherlands, more especially Antwerp (the closing of the Scheldt by the Dutch was formally recognized by Spain), but in the South the conclusion of this endless war was nevertheless greeted with great relief and joy. In this print a large crowd of Antwerp citizens is shown listening with much attention in the Great Market to the lecture of the articles of the treaty, made from a platform especially erected before the Town Hall. See also No. 13.

Antwerp, Print Room

GASPAR BOUTTATS

Engraver. Antwerp, 1625-1703.

105. *The Antwerp "ommegang" at the Meirbrug (Meir-bridge) in 1684*

Etching, 39 x 49 cm. (with an explanatory text, detailing the "ommegang," in Dutch, printed by Hieronymus Verdussen, Antwerp, 1685, not shown here).

Religious processions known as "ommegangen" (literally "making a tour") were very popular in the Netherlands. They formed large and often very spectacular pageants in which religious representations alternated with lay scenes. Antwerp has several "ommegangen" but the most important was the one of Our Lady, on the Sunday of or af-

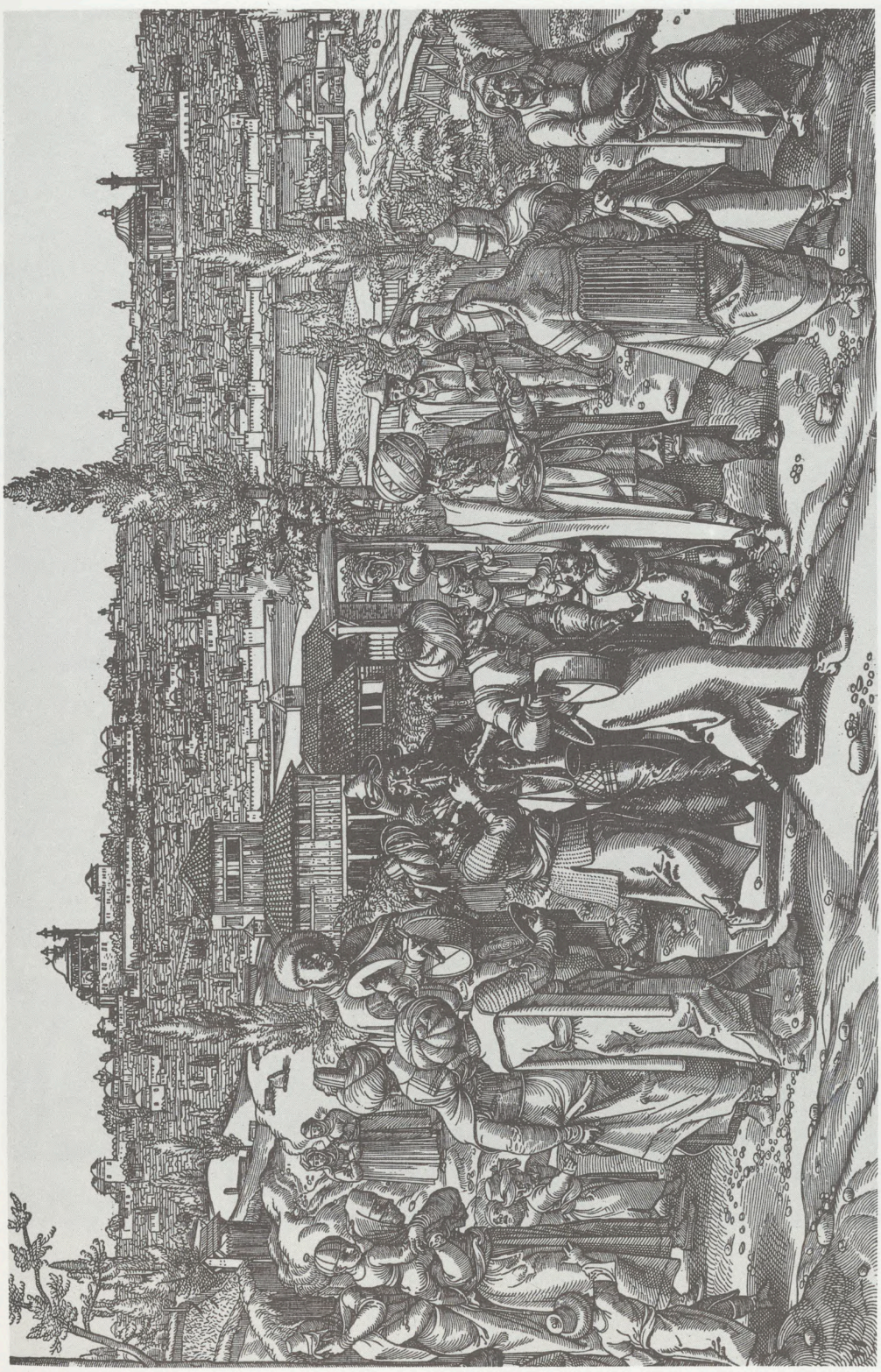
ter 15 August, which attracted crowds from the whole of the Netherlands. The number of wagons and the kind of scenes represented on these wagons or by groups could vary from year to year. But from the beginning of the 16th century, as shown on this etching were always to be seen the wagons with the legendary giant of Antwerp Druon Antigoon, the Elephant, the Dolphin with Cupido, the Great Ship, the Whale with Neptunus, Apollo and the Muses on Mount Parnassus, and the Virgin of Antwerp. The "ommegang" of 1684 also included (shown at the center in the background) the wagon of the Victory of Callo, executed after designs by Rubens to glorify the battle won by the governor-general of the Spanish Netherlands, Cardinal-Infant Ferdinand, in 1638, against a Dutch army at Callo, to the North of Antwerp.

Antwerp, Print Room

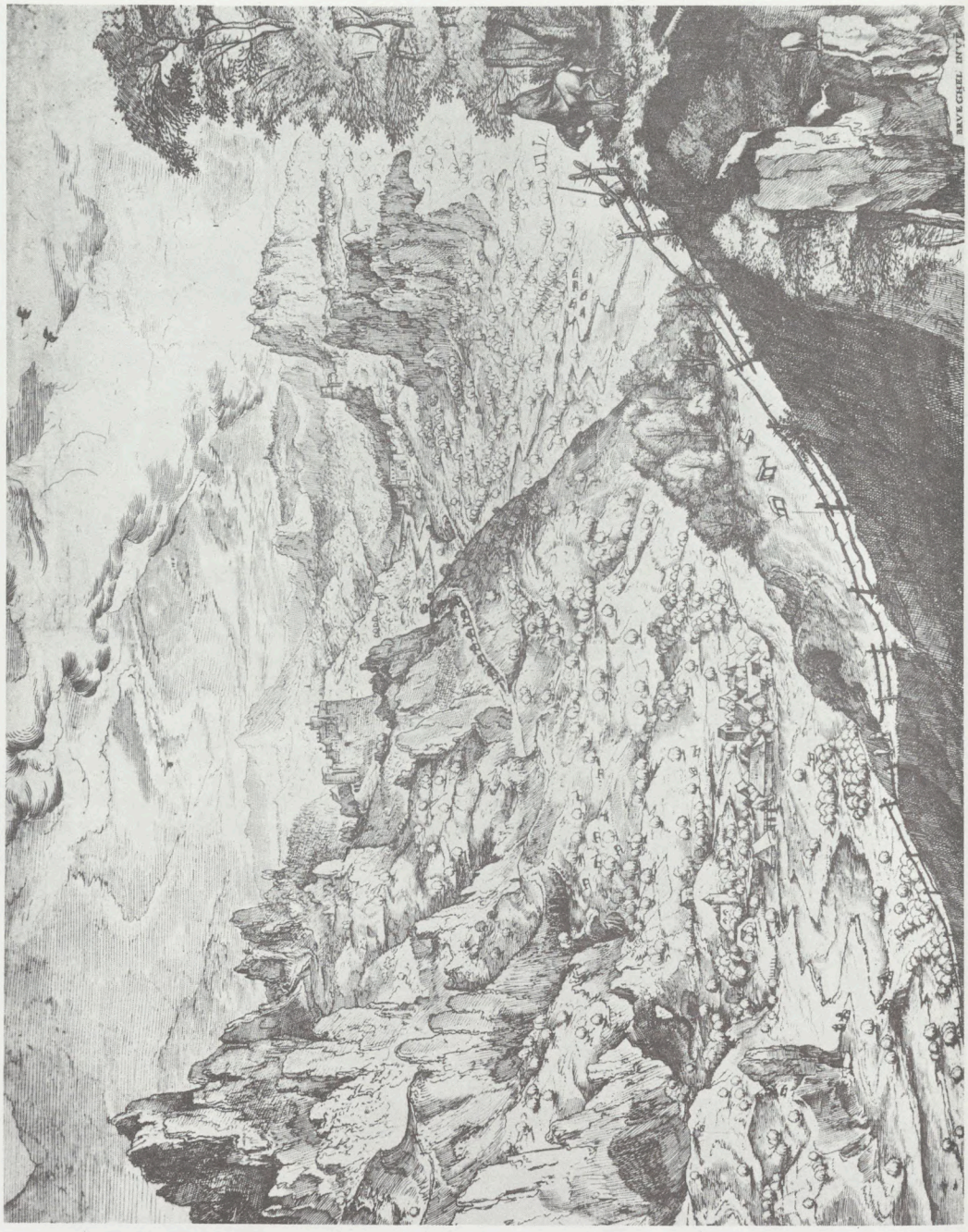
67 Silvester van Parys, *"The King of Tunis"*, 1535

68 Jan Mollyns, *Portrait of Francesco Donato, Doge of Venice*, 1554

69 Hans Liefrinck, *Portrait of Emperor Charles V on horseback and in armor*



70 Anonymous master after Peter Coecke van Aalst, *View of Constantinople*, 1553



72 Hieronymus Cock, *Alpine landscape*, c. 1557/58

75 Hans Vredeman de Vries, *Grottesco in diversche manieren...* Plate from the album published at Antwerp by Gerard de Jode, 1554

76 Philip Galle, *The Alchimist,* 1558

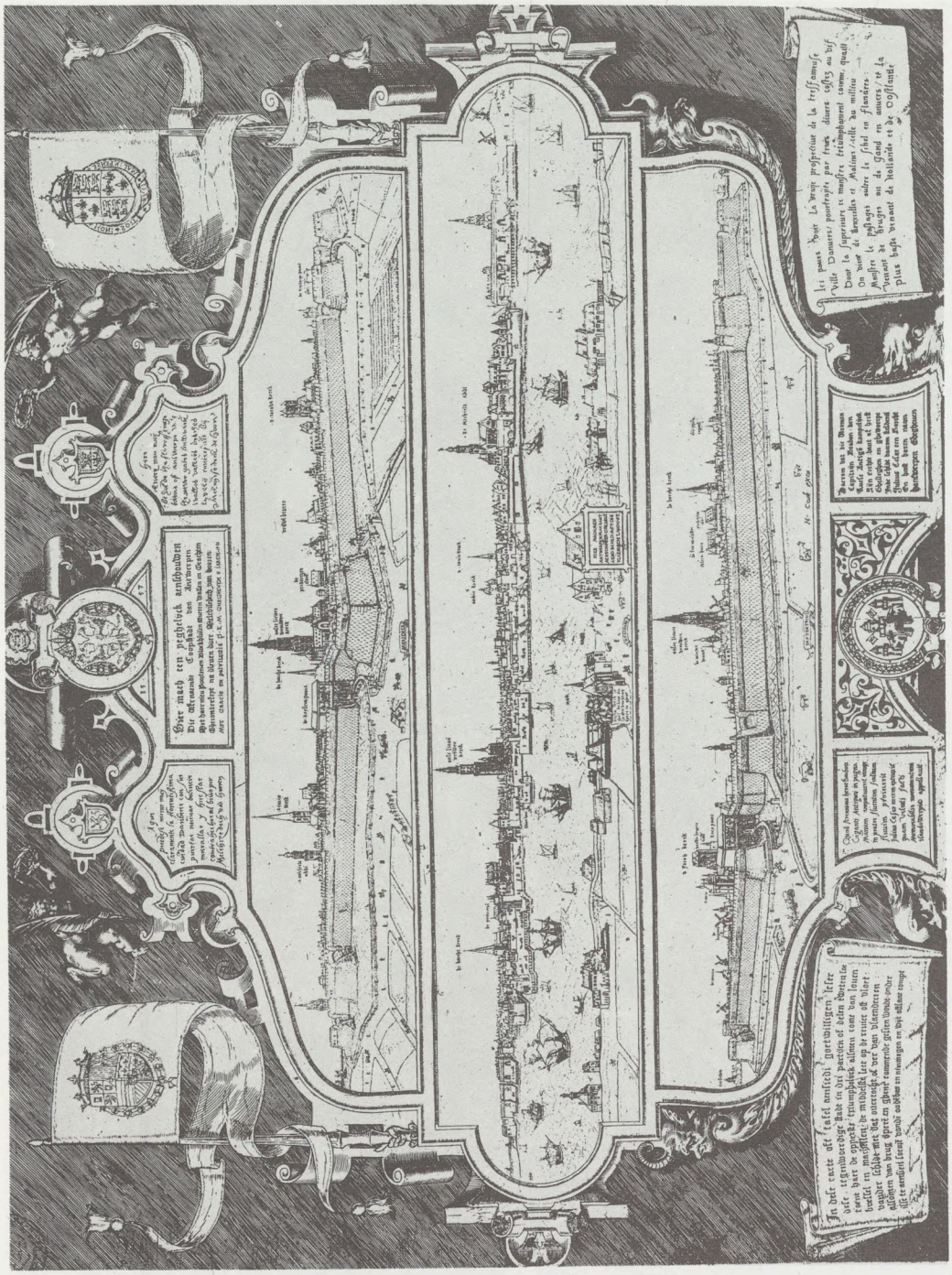
82 Hieronymus Wiericx, *Portrait of Henriette Balzac d'Entragues*, 1600

84 Lucas Vorsterman, *The Chaste Susanne*, 1620

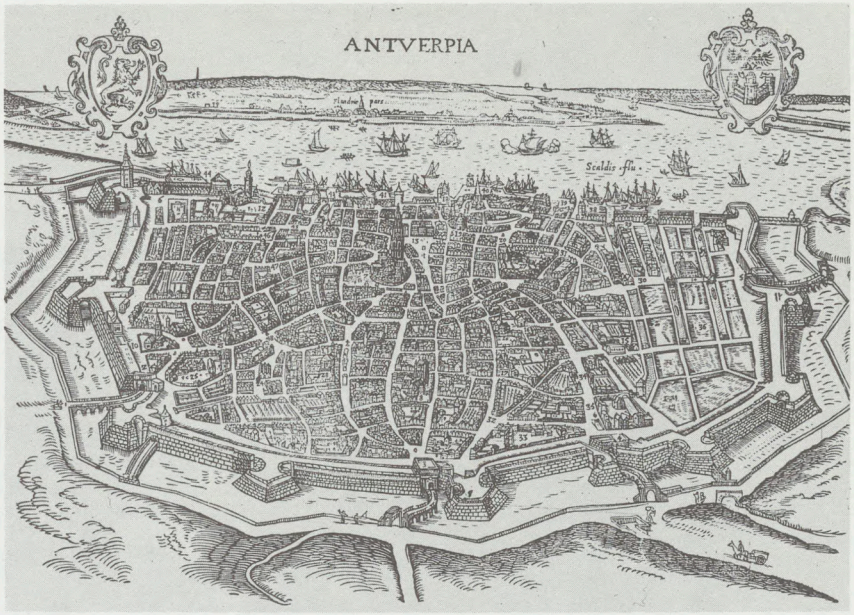
86 Boetius a Bolswert, *The judgment of Salomon*

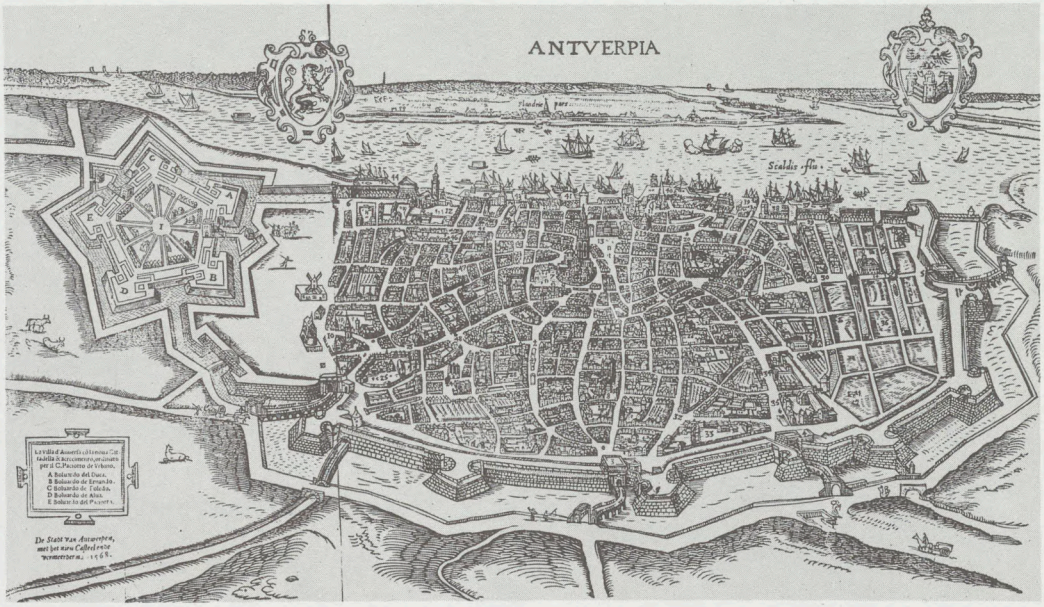
87 Schelte a Bolswert, *Landscape with Philemon and Baucis*

90 Christopher Jegher, *Hercules killing the hydra*



92 Melchisedech van Hoorn, *Three views of Antwerp*, 1557

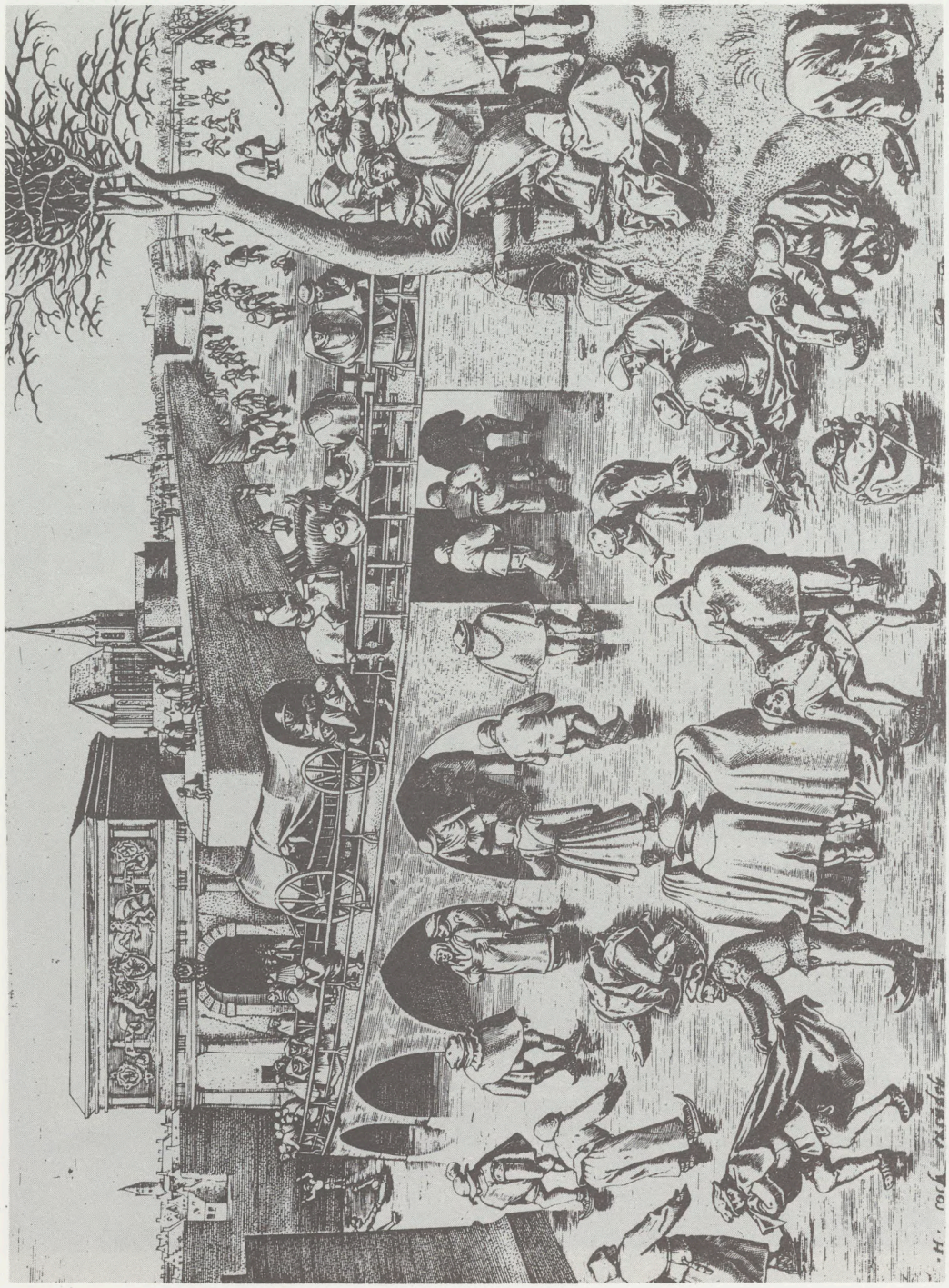




93 Pauwels van Overbeke, *View of the City of Antwerp*

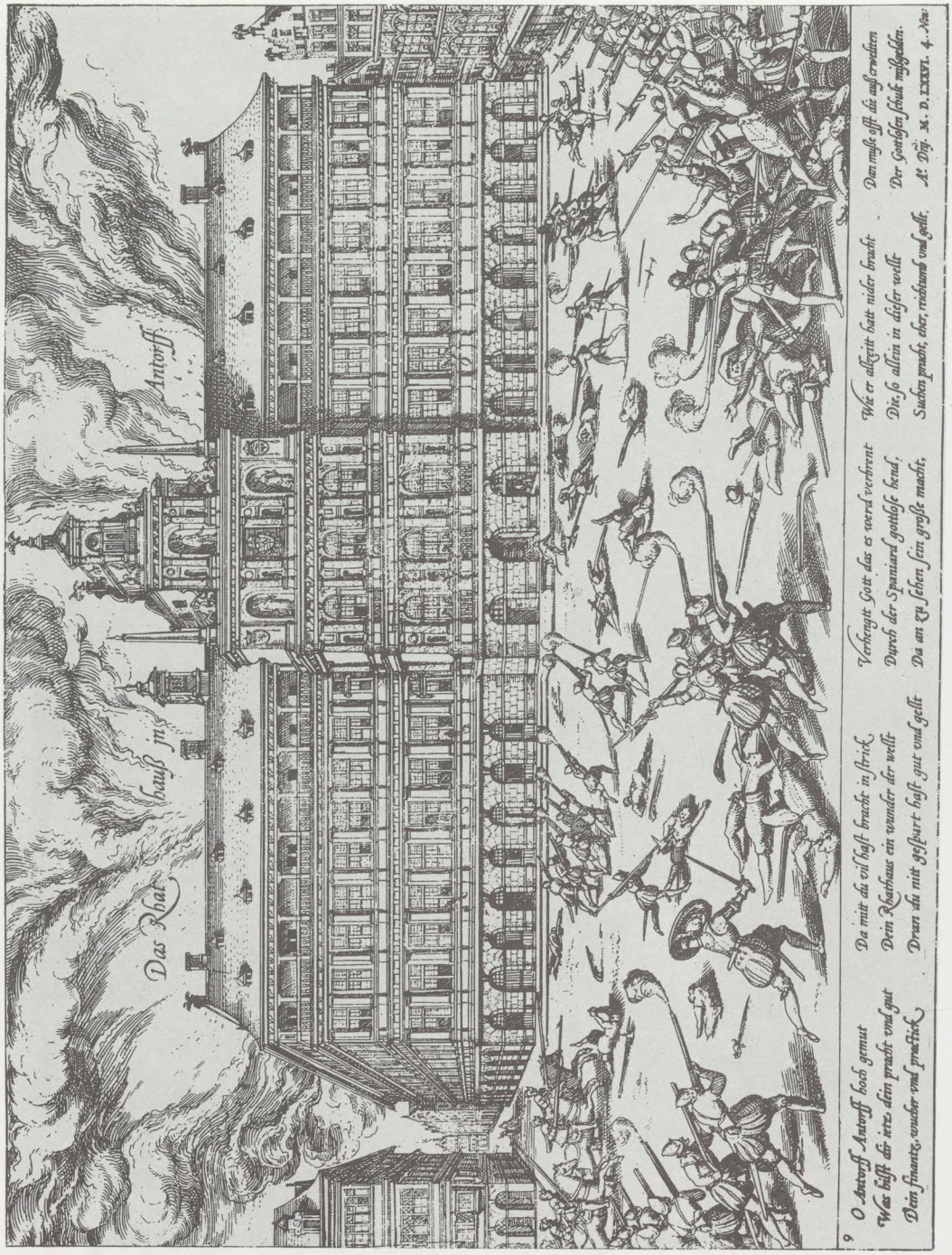
a. Before the erection of the citadel, 1567-68

b. After the erection of the citadel, 1567-68

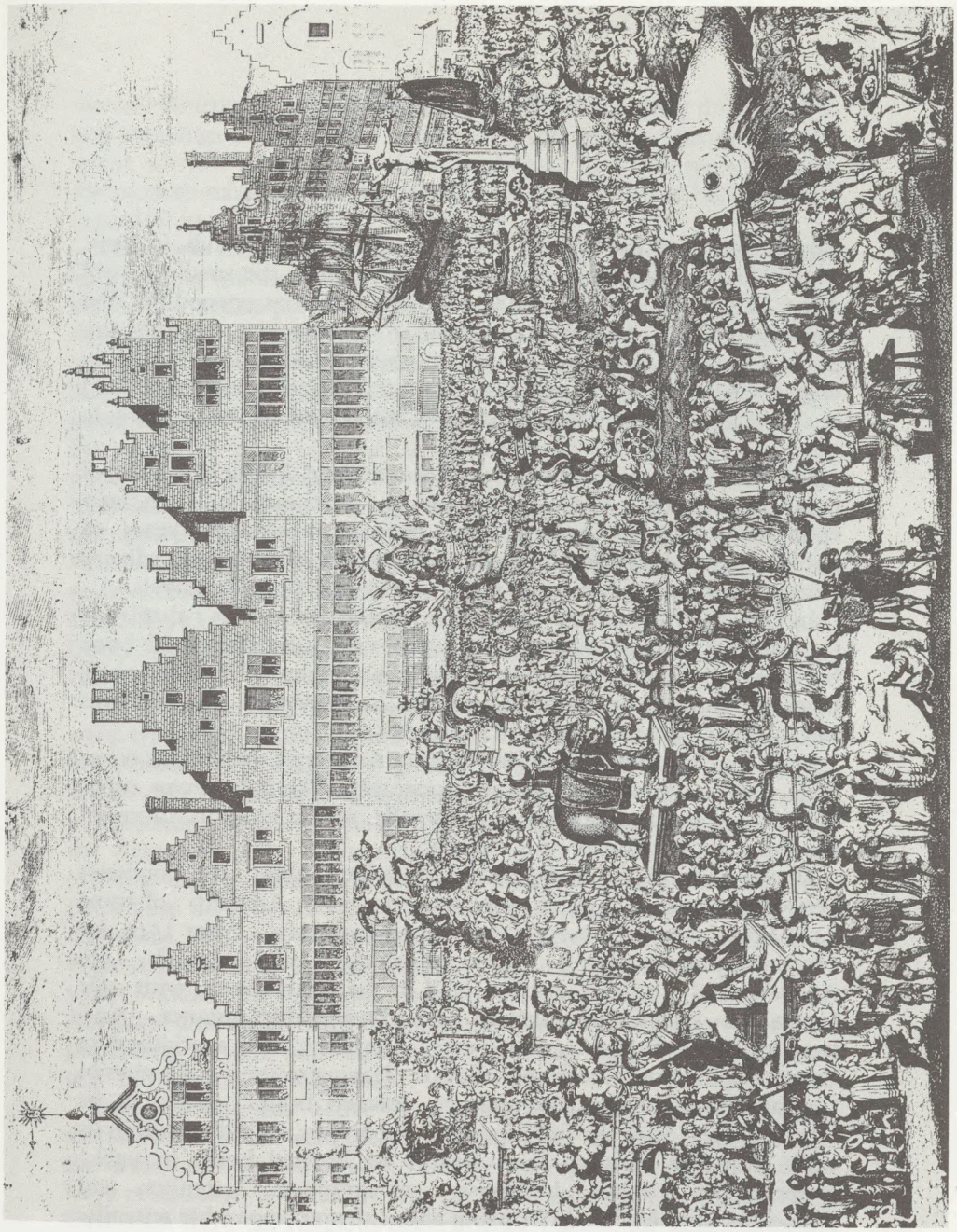


94 Frans Huys, *Skating in the city-moat, near the Emperor's Gate, c.* 1558-61

95 Joris Hoefnagel, *Ice-joy on the frozen river Scheldt before Antwerp*, 1563



99 Frans Hogenberg, *The Spanish fury, 4 November 1576 : the struggle before the Town Hall*



105 Gaspar Bouttats, *The Antwerp "ommegang" at the Meirbrug in 1684*

VIII. TYPOGRAPHY

Typography was introduced in the Southern Netherlands in 1473, when Thierry Martens opened a printing shop in the small town of Alost. Eight years later, in 1481, Matthias van Goes opened the first printing office in Antwerp, and the city soon became the most important center of the new art in the Southern Netherlands. However, during the first stages of printing, Louvain was hardly less active ; and in the North, in Deventer and Zwolle, the output of the printers, in quantity, doubled that of Antwerp.

Louvain was a university town, Deventer and Zwolle the seats of important schools. These cities produced textbooks, and scholarly volumes. Antwerp typographers, during these early years of publishing, worked more for a clientele of businessmen and ordinary citizens, primarily readers of pious works and popular novels.

In one field, however, the city surpassed the others : thanks to Gerard Leeu (active between 1484 and 1493), the illustrated book became one of Antwerp's great specialities. (It should be mentioned, however, that the woodcut-illustrations in Antwerp's early editions were largely the work of Dutch artists.)

With the beginning of the 16th century Antwerp's spectacular economic rise was underway, and in typography, like in so many other fields of endeavor, Antwerp soon literally, within its walls, captured the book production of the country.

Of the 133 printers and publishers working in the Low Countries between 1500 and 1540, 66 were to be found in Antwerp ; of some 4,000 books reviewed, 2,254 were printed in the city. After 1540, the concentration of printing in Antwerp increased still further ; by 1550 Antwerp had won the absolute lead in the Netherlands, with only Louvain in competition, though at a considerable distance. Antwerp's printers in the earliest years of printing, had specialized in cheap, popular and illustrated editions—leaving to their colleagues in Louvain, Zwolle, and Deventer the learned books. Now, in its "Golden Age," with the full bloom of typography unfolding within its walls, Antwerp took on this category of learned books as well. Netherland's scholars, humanists, cartographers, botanists, and physicians were leaders in bringing about the incomparable scientific explosion of the Renaissance which would lead mankind, in a mere four centuries, into the atomic age. Few of these scholars actually lived in Antwerp. But by way of its printers and publishers this com-

mercial Metropolis contributed mightily to disseminating the thoughts and teachings of its learned countrymen throughout Europe and the entire world. Accordingly, the contribution of Antwerp in shaping the modern mind, and in the development of modern science, may be regarded as of the utmost importance.

The works leaving the Antwerp presses in the opening years of the 16th century imitated closely the earliest printed books. The "gothic" style continued to prevail for some time, but gradually in the printing domain, too—in lettertype, illustrations and design—the Renaissance arrived. The Renaissance came at first by way of Germany and was attired in German dress. But Italian influences soon came through more directly. The same phenomenon occurred in the evolution of the pictorial print—in the woodcut and the engraved copperplate—but in typographical production, unlike the print, a French-Renaissance influence was also felt. Three typographers were conspicuous in this first half of the 16th century : Michel Hillen van Hoochstraten, Willem Vorsterman, and Jan Grapheus. But many of their colleagues were hardly less important. To name only a few : Hendrik Eckert van Hombergh, Marten de Keysere (Caesar), Simon Cock, Adrian van Berghen, Nicolas de Grave, Jacob van Liesvelt, Jan van Doesborch, Thierry Martens, Christopher van Ruremond.

In the second half of the century one man came to dominate Antwerp typography : Christopher Plantin. Although he began as a poor book-binder, he became the greatest printer of his time and one of the greatest of all times. (His career and importance will be discussed in a separate chapter.) But even this giant was unable to monopolize the Antwerp market. Simultaneously in Antwerp other important printing and publishing houses developed at a feverish rate : the publishing dynasties of Nutius, Steelsius, Bellerus, Van Keerberghen, Gymnicus, and Van Waesberghen, and printers such as Jan Richard, Willem Silvius, and Jan van Loe (Loeus). In these years, also, Antwerp became the foremost international cartographic center, with Abraham Ortelius, Gerard de Jode and others, and a center for music publishing as well, with Simon Cock and especially Tielman Susato and the dynasty of Phalesius.

Antwerp was also active in printing Bibles and other religious works—and not all were orthodox. But after the city capitulated to the armies of Philip II in 1585, the city was rapidly forged into a bulwark of militant catholicism. The principal actors of this Counter Reformation were the religious orders of the Jesuits, the Augustins and the Dominicans ; they gained their hold by founding highschools for Antwerp youth and coddling them with learned professors. Antwerp at its decline became what it had not been in its great Golden Age : a

center of learning—but in the new milieu of the Catholic Counter Reformation.

Leiden and Amsterdam—in the free Northern Provinces—were quickly wringing from Antwerp its typographical leadership. As the production-center of humanist and scholarly publications, Antwerp's position had dwindled. But thanks to the learned professors, and the students of its highschools, Antwerp's typographers could still produce works of value for a national and international market—if of a special, more theological character.

Plantin had been the great printer of Humanism. His son-in-law and successor, Jan Moretus, became the great printer of the Catholic Counter Reformation. Moretus and his immediate successors, however, were trailed by many other firms, such as the dynasties of the Van Meurs, Aertsen, Cnobbaert, Trognesius, and Verdussen. In the graphic arts field, Antwerp lived its most glorious hours in these years. With Rubens and his pupils as designers, and the greatest engravers of the century as producers, the Antwerp illustrated book—in the new exuberant Baroque-style—won international fame and imitation. Yet here, as in other domains, a decline had set in by the middle of the 17th century. Henceforward, the Antwerp typographers, importing spiritual food for the more learned from abroad, contented themselves with small items of local importance that were of no interest to foreign typographers and publishers. Only the *Officina Plantiniana* of the Moretuses, now centered on the production of liturgical works for Spain, and the Verdussens, who specialized in printing works in Spanish for the Spanish market, continued the old glorious tradition.

LEON VOET

106. LUDOLPHUS A SAXONIA, *Tboek vanden leven ons Heeren Jesu Christi*. Antwerp, Gerard Leeu, 3 November 1487.

In - quarto.

This "Book of the Life of Our Lord Jesus Christ" by the German Carthusian monk, Ludolphus a Saxonia (died in Strasbourg, 1377 or 1378), was one of the most popular books of the late Middle Ages. This first Dutch edition contains 147 woodcut-illustrations, making it the most outstanding example of early printing in the Low Countries. In these woodcuts the work of three anonymous artists can be discerned, to whom the conventional names of "second woodcutter of Gouda," "woodcutter of Haarlem," and "first woodcutter of Antwerp" have been given.

Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum

107. *Thuys der fortunen ende dat huys der doot* (The house of Fortune and the House of Death). Antwerp, Jan van Doesborch, 1518.

In - quarto.

Some woodcut-illustrations are distinctive in that they are composed of separable parts : the same head could be placed on different bodies.

Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum

108. GUILIELMUS LYNDEWODE, *Provinciale seu Constitutiones Anglie*. Antwerp, Christopher van Ruremund for Francis Byrckman at London, 1525.

In- folio.

The illustrated title-page is interesting in so far as it shows a mixture of French and German influences : the central illustration is copied from *Horae* by the Parisian publisher Thielman Kerver, while the surrounding decorative border is derived from German models. This trend is typical in Van Ruremund's liturgical publications, but exceptional in Antwerp book-illustration during these years when French influences were minimal and German influences were dominant.

Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum

109. PETRUS APIANUS-GEMMA FRISIUS, *Cosmographicus liber*. Antwerp, printed by Jan Grapheus for Arnold Birckman, 1533.

In- quarto.

With woodcut-illustrations and moving astronomical figures. Gemma Reyneri (Jemme Reinersz), named Frisius (the Frisian) after his native province (Dokkum, 1508-Louvain, 1555), physician, mathematician, astronomer, and cosmographer, professor at the University of Louvain, was the founder of the mathematical-geographical school of the Low Countries, which became so important in the 16th and 17th centuries. In 1529, at the age of 21, he published a new edition of the *Cosmographicus liber* of the German geographer Petrus Apianus with so many additions and corrections that it was in fact an original contribution. This revised *Cosmographicus liber* won a tremendous success, and was many times republished, nearly always by Antwerp typographers. The Latin edition of 1533 for the first time added, as supplement, the *Libellus de locorum describendorum ratione*, the pioneering treatise describing the triangulation-method (geodesy) for making maps. Other epoch-making studies by Frisius include *De principiis astronomiae et cosmographiae* (first edition in 1530, describing the use of clocks for measuring longitudes), *De usu globi* (1530), *De annuli astronomici usu* (1540), *De radio astronomico et geometrico* (1545), *De astrolabio catholico* (1556).

Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum

110. *Souterliedekens ghemaect ter eeren Gods op alle die Psalmen Davids.* Antwerp, Simon Cock, 12 June 1540.

In- octavo.

Flemish translation of the "Psalms made in honor of God" by Willem van Zuylen van Nyevelt, with music by Clemens non papa. The first edition has the date of 12 June 1540, but nine different editions are known bearing that date. In all same thirty editions were published from 1540 till 1613. The music-impression was done in two stages: first the notes were printed (in black), then the staves (in red). An innovation was the use of diamond-shaped note heads, which were henceforward current in printed measured music.

Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum

111. *De Bijbel.* Antwerp, Jacob van Liesvelt, 1542.

In- folio.

One of the many Bibles in the Dutch language published at that time in Antwerp. With many woodcuts, inspired from German models; the four Evangelists are only slightly modified copies from those cut by Erhard Altdorfer as they appeared in the *Niederdeutsche Bibel*, Lubeck, Ludwig Dietz, 1533-1534. Jacob van Liesvelt was a follower

of Luther and the Dutch Bibles he published in 1526, 1534, 1540 (New Testament), and 1542 were largely or entirely adaptations of Luther's German translation. The edition of 1542 also contains marginal notes directly derived from the German reformer. Van Liesvelt was beheaded in 1545. According to a somewhat later source he was sentenced to death for having printed this Bible of 1542. The trial proceedings, however, don't explicitly quote this edition: the typographer seems to have become the victim, not so much of this particular edition, as of many other Luther-inspired publications. At any rate, for a long time among the Protestants in the Netherlands, this 1542-Bible remained the only accepted Dutch version.

Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum

112. *Liber primus sacrarum cantionum quinque vocum, vulgo moteta vocant, ex optimis quibusque huius aetatis musicis selectarum.* Antwerp, Tielman Susato, 1546. 4 vols.

In- quarto.

Sixteen motets by different composers (Joannes Castileti, Thomas Crecquillon, Tielman Susato, Petrus de Manchicourt, Clemens non papa, Lupus Hellinc, Benedictus, Cadeac, Joannes Gallus; six by unknown artists), each volume for a different voice: basso, tenor, contra tenor, suprano. A fifth volume contained the *quinta pars*. The music impression was now done in one stage, by casting each note with a fragment of the stave. The invention of this system has been attributed alternately to the French type-cutter Pierre Haultin and to the French printer Pierre Attaingnant, about 1528. Willem van Vissenaeken (from 1542) and Tielman Susato (from 1543) were the first to use the new method in Antwerp.

Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum

113. GERARD MERCATOR, *Literarum latinarum, quas Italicas, cursoriasque vocant, scribendarum ratio.* Antwerp, Jan Richard, 1549.

In- quarto.

At the beginning of his brilliant career the famous cartographer (1512-1594) made this small treatise, executed in woodcuts, showing how to write an elegant cursive hand in the Italian style (an adaptation of the cancellaresca). Five editions are known: one by Rescius, Louvain, in 1540; three by J. Richard, Antwerp, in 1540 (1541 ?), 1549, 1550; the last by Joannes Bellerus, Antwerp, in 1557. This edition has an introduction by Mercator, dated Louvain, 7 March 1549.

Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum

114. SEBASTIAN SERLIO, *Des antiquités, le troisième livre translaté d'italien en franchois*. Antwerp, printed for Peter Coecke van Aalst by Gilles Coppens van Diest, 1550.

In-folio.

Peter Coecke van Aalst (1502-1550), painter, designer, humanist (see also No. 70), is said by Guicciardini "to have transported in the Netherlands the real practice of architecture," meaning the principles of the Italian Renaissance-architecture. Coecke was not an architect, but he promoted Italian Renaissance-architecture in the Netherlands e.g. by publishing (lavishly illustrated with woodcuts) Dutch and French translations of the works of the Italian architect Sebastian Serlio (Bologna, 1475 - Fontainebleau, 1552), describing and detailing the great monuments of Roman antiquity.

Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum

115. OLIVIER DE LA MARCHE, *El cavallero determinado traduzido de la lengua francesca en castellan por Don Hernando de Acuña*. En Anvers, en casa de Juan Steelsio (in the colophon : Fue impresso en la muy leal Villa de Anvers, en casa de Iuan Lacio), 1553.

In- quarto.

The "Chevalier délibéré" is an allegorical and symbolical poem on the life and deeds of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, finished in 1483 by the famous Burgundian chronicler Olivier de la Marche (1426-1502). It was a best-seller at the time : more than ten editions are known for the 15th century alone. It was also translated into Spanish in the 16th century ; this edition, published by Joannes Steelsius, and printed by Joannes Latius at Antwerp, is the first known of these translations. The work is illustrated with 20 large woodcuts (five with the monogram of the Antwerp woodcutter Arnold Nicolai), inspired from the illustrations in the editions of Gouda (1486) and Schiedam (about 1500).

Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum

116. LODOVICO GUICCIARDINI, *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi*. Antwerp, Willem Silvius, 1567.

In- folio.

First edition of this famous comprehensive historical-geographical treatise on the Low Countries, by Lodovico Guicciardini (Florence, 1521 - Antwerp, 1589), an Italian merchant who spent the greater part of his life in Antwerp, a nephew of Francesco Guicciardini, the his-

toriographer of Florence. That same year Silvius published a French translation, followed in 1568 by a second French edition.

Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum

117. *The Antwerp Cathedral.* Wood-block from LODOVICO GUICCIARDINI, *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi.* Antwerp, Willem Silvius, 1567.

24 x 34 cm.

Silvius has his editions of Guicciardini illustrated with fifteen woodcuts—maps of Netherland provinces and cities, a view of the Antwerp Cathedral shown here, and two copper engravings. When Plantin began preparing his own edition of the *Descrittione* (see No. 146) he decided to illustrate it more lavishly and exclusively with more refined copper-engravings. He told Silvius about his project in 1580, proposing to buy the Guicciardini-illustrations of his colleague, and explaining he had no intention of using them but simply wanted to compensate Silvius for the costs he had previously made (and at the same time to prevent him from bringing out a similar illustrated *Descrittione*). Silvius, at that time in Leiden, did not seem to have responded, but finally, in 1583, his widow ceded to Plantin the woodblocks in her possession. They are still preserved in the Plantin-Moretus Museum.

Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum

118. ABRAHAM ORTELIUS, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum.* Antwerp, 1570.

In- folio.

The first modern atlas, a milestone in the evolution of cartography. Ortelius (Antwerp, 1527-1598) was a good scholar and a great humanist but neither a cartographic pioneer nor a mathematical genius, as was his friend Gerard Mercator. He was, however, the first to have the germinal idea of bringing together maps of the same dimension in one volume, and he published only the best maps available at that time. This first volume, with a Latin text on the back of the maps printed by Gilles Coppens van Diest, contained 53 maps. The edition was sold within a few weeks. Already, in the same year, a second Latin edition appeared, to be followed by successive Latin, Dutch, French, German, and Spanish editions, all of which were continually brought up to date and became more and more comprehensive.

Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum

119. ABRAHAM ORTELIUS, *Epitome du Théâtre du Monde*. Antwerp, Philip Galle, 1588.

In- octavo, oblong.

The first edition of the first modern pocket-atlas appeared in Dutch version in 1577. It gives a reduction of the maps of Ortelius's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*. Philip Galle (see No. 76) took the initiative and started the project while Ortelius was abroad. The Antwerp schoolmaster Peter Heyns, commissioned to make the accompanying Dutch and French text (printed for Galle by Christopher Plantin), expressed, in the foreword of the first 1577 Dutch edition, his anxiety at the probable reactions of Ortelius but quotes the reply of Galle : "Ortelius is away. I take on me to explain him at his return that our book will do him no harm. In the meantime the project must be started, the enterprise suffering no delay." Galle was right : Ortelius at his return doesn't seem to have made any fuss.
This pocket-edition matched the success of the great *Theatrum* : the Dutch edition of 1577 was followed by five others (till 1599). The first French edition appeared under the title *Miroir du Monde* in 1579, followed by others (the name changed into *Epitome du Théâtre du Monde*) in 1583, 1588, 1590, 1598, 1601 (?), 1602, and 1609. Seven Latin editions were published between 1585 and 1622, one Spanish version in 1601 or 1602, and several in Italian (first published in 1593).

Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum

120. GERARD DE JODE, *Speculum orbis terrarum*. Antwerp, 1578.

In- folio.

Atlas in two volumes (first volume shown), containing 27 and 38 plates. The second volume bears the title *Speculum geographicum totius Germaniae Imperium repraesentans*, and is devoted to the German Empire. The typographical text on the back of the maps was printed for De Jode by Gerard Smits. Gerard de Jode (Nymegen, 1509 or 1517-Antwerp, 1591 ; master in Antwerp in 1547 ; see also No. 75) was a very important publisher of maps and atlases. His *Speculum* is a very good atlas but the technical execution cannot compare with the *Theatrum* of his Antwerp competitor Abraham Ortelius, and it met, consequently, much less success. (It has been surmised by some scholars that Ortelius hindered its production and sale by means of his influential friends at the Brussels court, but no definite proofs have been given.) Only seven copies are known. The *Speculum* was reedited by Cornelis de Jode, son of Gerard, in 1593, and seems to have sold much better.

Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum

121. EGIDIUS EVERAERTS, *De herba panacea, quam alii tabacum, alii Petum, aut Nicotianam vocant, brevis commentariolus.* Antwerp, Joannes Bellerus, 1587.

In- sedecimo.

Study on the tobacco, presented as a panacaea against all evils and diseases, written by an Antwerp physician of the second half of the 16th century. The *Commentariolus* is followed by some other medical treatises : one by Castor Durans on the mechoacan-root ; one on the preservation against the plague by Gerardus Bergensis, another Antwerp physician ; two classical studies by Galenus, *De theriaca* and *De antidotis* ; finally one by Joannes Juvenis (De Jonghe), *De medicamentis bezoardicis*. The first edition was published in Antwerp in 1583 ; a third appeared at Utrecht in 1644.

Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum

122. ANDRIES PEVERNAGE, *Chansons à six, sept et huict parties.* Antwerp, Peter Phalesius, 1607.

In- octavo, oblong.

A. Pevernage (1543-1591), master of the Chapel of the Antwerp Cathedral in 1585, was a very productive composer (see also No. 77). Besides *Cantiones sacrae, Missae, Musica divina, Harmonia celesta,* etc., he edited also some collections of French songs, religious and profane, mostly on Poems by Ronsard and other French poets of the Pleiade.

Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum

123. OTTO VAENIUS, *Amorum emblemata.* Antwerp, printed for the author by Henricus Swingenius, 1608.

In- quarto, oblong.

Album with 124 plates, engraved by Cornelius Boel after the drawings of the painter Otto Venius (Leiden, 1556-Antwerp, 1629 ; established in Antwerp in 1593). Facing each emblem an explanatory text : Latin verses from classical authors with English and Italian translations. Part of the edition has Dutch and French translations, another part French and Italian texts. The *Amorum emblemata* has been reprinted in 1618 in Holland, and in 1667 in Brussels.

Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum

124. ABRAHAM VERHOEVEN, *Pourtraict veritable et au vif, de la Joyeuse Victoire acquise le 17 de May l'An 1605 par les gens de leurs Altezes aupres d'Anvers, sur le Blockersdijck* ... Antwerp, 1605.

Copperengraving, 24 x 33 cm., with explanatory texts in French and Dutch (overall dimensions : 37 x 45 cm.).

Description of the raid by a Dutch fleet against Antwerp, beaten off at the Blokkersdijk, to the North of the city, by the troops of Archduke Albert, 17 May 1605 ; an episode of the Eighty Years War. From the ramparts of the city near the Saint-Michel Abbey, the Antwerp citizens are looking at the fighting on the river and along the polder dikes. See also Nos. 125-126.

Antwerp, Print Room

125-126. ABRAHAM VERHOEVEN, *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* (New Tidings), 1621.

The Antwerp typographer A. Verhoeven (1575-1652) published from 1605 on "newstidings" at irregular times (his first edition—an illustrated broadside—is shown in No. 124), as did before and after him many other Antwerp printers. Verhoeven, however, soon specialized in this kind of publication. At the outbreak of the Thirty Years War, in 1618, "hot news" became so abundant that he could bring out his sheets (ordinarily 8 pages in- quarto format) with greater frequency, till in 1620 they appeared regularly two or three times a week, receiving a sequential number : the first Belgian periodical was born, one of the very first in Europe. (In Holland Caspar Hilten and Broer Jansz had started similar periodicals in 1618 ; others seem to have been published by Strasbourg- and Augsburg-publishers in 1609.) Verhoeven may, however, claim the honor of having inaugurated the illustrated periodical : being an engraver and having started his career with illustrated "newstidings," the Antwerp typographer ornated the title-page of each number of his "new tidings" with a woodcut, crude and without artistic pretentions, but rendering the content. His periodical is generally given as "Nieuwe Tijdinghen" (New Tidings), but in fact each number had its own title and if they started frequently with "New Tidings from...," other terms (such as Gazette) occur as frequently.

Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum

127. FAMIANUS STRADA, *De Bello Belgico decas prima ab excessu Caroli V. Imp. usque ad initia praefecturae Alexandri Farnesii Parmae, ac Placentiae Ducis III.* Antwerp, Jan Cnobbaert, 1635.

In- octavo.

A history of the beginning of the revolt of the Netherlands against Philip II (1555-1579). Second edition after the original one, published

in Rome, 1632. The author, the Roman Jesuit father Strada, completed his history with a *Decas secunda* for the years 1579-1590 (first edition : Rome, 1647). The two parts of *De Bello Belgico*, written from a Catholic point of view but in a rather objective way, were often reprinted in Italy and the Low Countries (both South and North) and translated into Dutch, Italian, English, Spanish, and Polish. The Antwerp firm of Cnobbaert had in the 17th century the publication-monopoly for the Southern Netherlands. The engraved frontispiece showing a map of the Netherlands in the form of a lion, was copied from the Roman edition of 1632, but this title-page itself was an adaptation of the frontispiece engraved by Frans Hogenberg for that other history on the rising of the Netherlands, the *De Leone Belgico*, by Michel Aitsinger, published at Cologne in 1583 and 1585.

die vloeyende ende onghestantich es.
In ghestanticheyt der duecht eñ dÿn-
der gracyen. verwandelende dat wa-
tere al mÿnder onynnicheyt in wÿne
des vruchtbarighen rouwen. daer me
de du my allendich willes ghewerdi-
ghen altÿt te lauene ende te veruullē.
Ende ten eynde bÿ dÿnder ontfarm-
hertichеyt dat veranderen in wÿn der
vrolÿcheyt. Amen.

¶ Hoe ende in wat manyeren dat ihe
sus ten eersten maele die coopers en-
de vercoopers wt den tempel was
werpende.

¶ Dat xxiij. capittel

106 Ludolphus a Saxonia, *Tboeck vanden leven ons Heeren Jesu Christi*, Antwerp, Gerard Leeu, 1487

postulat, & videbis tot esse gradus eiusdem meridiani ab æquinoctiali circulo vsqꝫ ad zenith depicti hominis, quotquot arcus eiusdem meridiani inter polum mundi & horizontem comprehendit.

COROLLARIVM.

Zenith Capitis semper æqualiter ex omni parte ab horizōte (id est. 90 gradibus, seu quadrāte) distat: eo dicitur Polus horizontis. & vbicꝫ existētibus (exclusis oībus alijs impedimentis) semper medietas cœli siue hemisphærij apparet. In quantū igitur aliquis ab æquinoctiali procedit versus septentrionē vel austrū, in tantū etiā deprimitur horizon sub polo ex parte vna, ex altera vero eleuatur super polum oppositum.

QVOMODO ALTITVDO POLI SEV latitudo terræ per organum speciale sit exploranda. Caput Nonum.

Pro intellectu huius capituli, necessario ponendæ sunt quædam propositiones, fores huius organi & eius vsum multiplicem explicantes, quarum prima est.

PROPOSITIO PRIMA.

ALtitudinem Solis supra horizontem, omni die & hora, artificiose ex radijs solaribus cognoscere. Subleua igitur librum cū sequenti organo, inferiori parte versus solem, ita: vt perpendiculū ex. c. signo libere pendeat super gnomonis perpendiculum, & trigonum mobilem erecto pinnacidio radianti soli oppone. Ita ꝙ facies organi ad te superior vero pars libri versus sinistram manum vertatur. Rursus subleua aut deprime paulatim trigonum cum pinnacidio versus solem, donec suprema pars vmbræ pinnacidij quārectissime cadat super lineam vmbræ. Hoc peracto: considera diligenter per quot gradus eleuetur index trigoni supra horizontem. numerus illorum graduum, est altitudo solis pro dato momento.

PROPOSITIO SECVNDA.

VErum locum Solis quolibet die in zodiaco ex Theorica solis artificiose inquirere. Supputa igitur diem mensis pro quo solis gradum scire cupis, in circulo dierum mensium, super quē pone filū ex centro theoricæ: filum itaqꝫ extensum super extremum orbē, indicat signum & signi gradum, per quem die oblato sol decurrit. Verū in anno bisextili post exitum Februarij vsqꝫ ad anni finem semper ad oblatum diem dies vnus addendus est: Deinde facta supputatione in limbo mensium, filum solis verum motum ad meridiem oblati diei ostendit.

111 *Dutch Bible*, Antwerp, Jacob van Liesvelt, 1542

CONTRA. Tilemannus. Susato. Fo. ii.

Alue quæ rosco decora serto, decora

serto, Salue quæ rosco decora serto, deco.

Cæteras facile antecellis urbes, ij Cæteras facile ãtecellis urbes,

Salue Antuerpia salue amor, ij

uoluptas, salue ij delicium, decus, corona ij Florẽtis

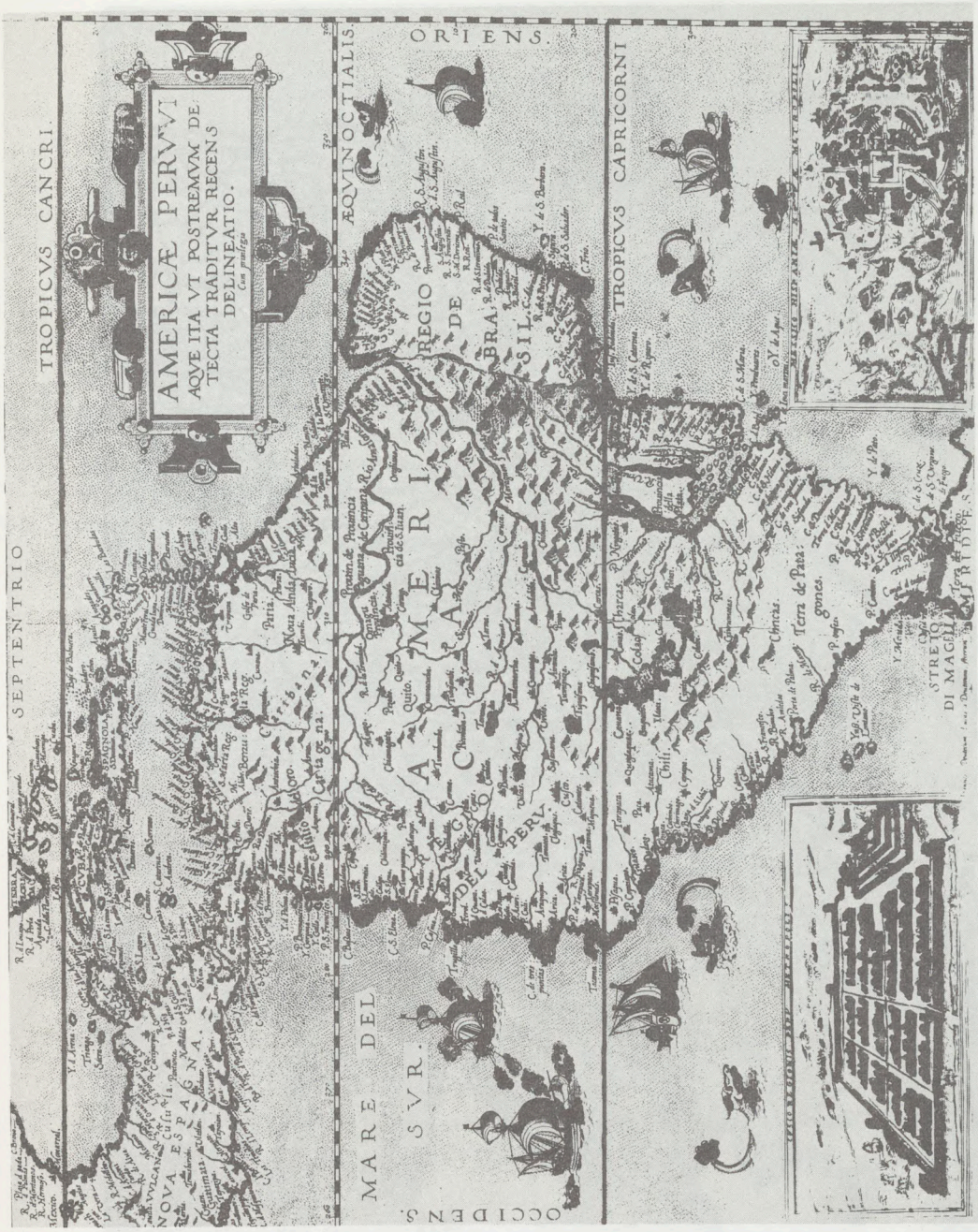
patriæ, O beata salue, O beata salue, ij

Salue Antuerpia gẽma, flos, uenustas europæ, te asi-

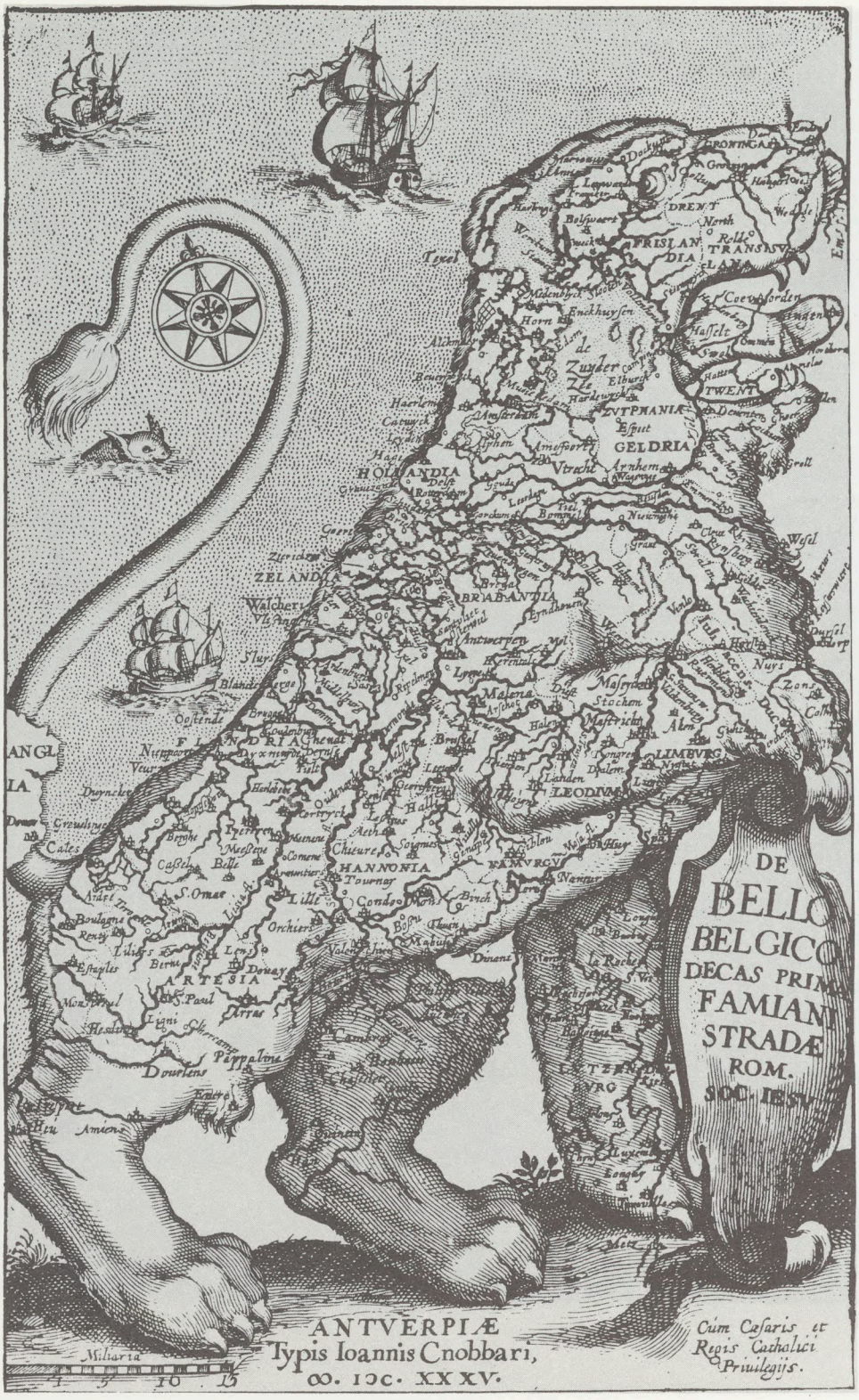
æ, affricæq; uasti ij Te. ij Mirãtur populi ij

112 *Liber primus sacrarum cantionum quinque vocum*, Antwerp, Tielman Susato, 1546

AMERICAE SIVE
NOVI ORBIS, NO
VA DESCRIPTIO.
Vicinia Septentrionem versus & regiones incognitæ adhuc sunt.
SEPTENTRIO.
MARE ATLANTICVM.
ORIENS.
OCCIDENS.
MERIDIES.
HISPANIA NOVA
ARCHIPELAGO DI SAN LAZARO.
NOVA GVINEA.
TERRA DEL FVEGO.
Archipelago del C. dessiderato.
Golfo de S. Sebastiano
Circulus Lapponicus
Circulus Septentrionalis
Tropicus Cancri
Aequinoctialis
Tropicus Capricorni
Circulus Antarcticus
Terra incognita
Terra incognita
Terra incognita



120 Gerard de Jode, *Speculum Orbis Terrarum*, Antwerp, 1578


DE
BELLO
BELGICO
DECAS PRIMA
FAMIANI
STRADÆ
ROM.
SOC. IESV.
ANTVERPIÆ
Typis Ioannis Cnobbari,
CIↃ. IↃC. XXXV.
Cum Cæsaris et
Regis Catholici
Priuilegijs.
Miliaria
4 5 10 15
HOLLANDIA
ZELANDIA
BRABANTIA
GELDRIA
ZVTPHANIA
TWENT
DRENT
FRISLANDIA
TRANSISVLANIA
GRONINGA
LIMBVRG
LEODIVM
HANNONIA
NAMVRCVM
ARTESIA
LVTZENBVRG
Zuyder Zee
Texel
Calais
Boulogne
Dunkerque
Ostende
Anvers
Bruxelles
Malines
Louvain
Liege
Namur
Mons
Tournay
Lille
Douay
Arras
Amiens
Dourlens
Pippalou
Ligni
Mons Pauli
Estaples
Tilletes
Bethune
Cambray
Chastelet
Dinant
Maubeuge
Condé
Valenciennes
Bouchain
Quesnoy
Mezieres
Charleville
Chiny
Bastogne
Luxemburg
Longwy
Thionville
Metz
Wesel
Nuys
Zons
Cologne
Aachen
Maastricht
Stockem
Hasselt
Coevorden
Emden
Groningen
Leeuwarden
Harlingen
Bolsward
Amsterdam
Haarlem
Leyden
Delft
Rotterdam
Utrecht
Arnhem
Nimeguen
Gouda
Dordrecht
Breda
Bergen op Zoom
Middelburg
Vlissingen
Walcheren
Sluys
Gheudt
Ypres
Lille
Douai
Cambrai
Valenciennes
Tournay
Mons
Charleroy
Namur
Huy
Dinant
Bouillon
Luxemburg
Trier
Koln
Duisburg
Wesel
Emmerich
Zutphen
Deventer
Kampen
Groningen
Hoorn
Enkhuysen
Alkmaar
Beverwijk
Haarlem
Amsterdam
Utrecht
Arnhem
Nimeguen
Gouda
Leyden
Delft
Rotterdam

IX. THE SHOP OF CHRISTOPHER PLANTIN

THE OFFICINA PLANTINIANA

In any history of Antwerp typography a special chapter must be devoted to Christopher Plantin and his officina. For Plantin was the greatest typographer of his time and one of the greatest of all times. He and his successors, however, gained as important a niche in cultural history by the fact that through the centuries the world in which they lived and worked has been miraculously preserved right down to the present.

Plantin came to live on Antwerp's Vrijdagmarkt (Friday-Market) in 1576. When he died in 1589 he left "The Golden Compasses," as he had christened the house on the Friday-Market, to his favorite son-in-law John Moretus. The Moretuses continued their trade in the big house. They also embellished it, and filled it with art-treasures. In 1876 Edward Moretus, a descendent, ceded it to the City of Antwerp for a museum. Visitors find, however, something far more than just a wealthy patrician mansion out of Antwerp's glorious past—with a beautiful Renaissance courtyard (16th-17th centuries), hidden behind a magnificent 18th century Louis XV-facade, with period rooms furnished with old furniture, paintings, and wall tapestries. For the Moretuses have also preserved with obsessive care the actual working areas. An authentic printing press, foundry and proofreader's room of a bygone world can be seen only in the Plantin-Moretus Museum. And the Moretuses have done still more : they have carefully preserved the old typographical equipment, even though it had become obsolete, and also their precious archives—which allow the scholars to follow the activities of one of the greatest presses of Europe through more than three centuries. In this way they made "The Golden Compasses," the original Plantin-Moretus Shop on the Antwerp Friday-Market, one of the great places of pilgrimage for all who are interested in the cultural inheritance of the Renaissance and Baroque times.

LEON VOET

A. CHRISTOPHER PLANTIN

The "prince of printers," as one of his eulogists called him after his death, was born in or about 1520 in the neighborhood of Tours, probably at Saint Avertin. He came to Antwerp in 1548 or 1549 to earn his living as a bookbinder.

In 1555 he had a painful misadventure. Crossing the Meirbrug at twilight with a richly-wrought leather case (to bring it personally to an important customer) he ran into some drunkards who mistook him for a guitarplayer who had insulted them shortly before. During the encounter, Plantin got his shoulder transfixed with a rapier. He recovered, but manual work requiring any degree of physical activity was henceforth forbidden to him. So he gave up the craft of bookbinder to become master-printer... This, at least, is the official version given by Plantin and his relatives. In fact, Plantin continued to bind books for some years after 1555 (at least till 1559), though at a less exacting pace. And the story fails to explain where Plantin got the capital needed to start a printing-office. Other sources tell a different tale.

Plantin was officially a Catholic all his life, but he actually belonged, at any rate after his arrival in Antwerp, to a heterodox sect, called the "Family of Love." This group has been identified as an Anabaptist church. In reality, the situation was more complex : the "Family of Love" was rather a mystic movement that preached tolerance in an intolerant time, and affirmed that dogma and ritual and churches had no particular value if one would only center his love in Jesus Christ. Such teachings, of course, were hardly appreciated, either by Catholics or Calvinists. Consequently, the members of the sect were obliged, if not required, to remain Catholic or Protestant, to the outside world as circumstances allowed.

Plantin became a close friend of the founder of the group, the Dutch merchant Hendrik Niclaes, and he has received money to install a press from Niclaes and his followers.

The first book left Plantin's presses in 1555 : *La Institutione di una fanciulla nata nobilmente. L'Institution d'une fille de noble maison*, a handbook in Italian and French for the education of young ladies of good family by the Venetian humanist, Giovanni-Michele Bruto, then in Antwerp.

The beginning was difficult. In the following years Plantin was largely concerned with reprinting Parisian and Lyonese books for the French market. However, he increased the number of his presses to four—at that time quite an impressive number. Early in 1562 he was accused of printing a Calvinist prayer-book. Militant Calvinism was not exactly to Plantin's liking. His explanation, that three of his

pressmen had printed the booklet clandestinely during one of his numerous business trips abroad, seemed convincing enough, but at first the authorities were unimpressed. Plantin thus found it prudent to remain in Paris for some time. In September 1563, after an absence of eighteen months, he found he could safely return to Antwerp.

In the meantime creditors had sold his furniture. This was probably meant as a favor to Plantin, to prevent possible seizure of his possessions by the authorities. At any rate, at the end of 1563, Plantin entered into a partnership with one of these "hearthless" creditors, Cornelis van Bomberghen, and other members of that family.

The Van Bomberghens were important businessmen and with the capital they brought to the company, Plantin could start a new and greater career : the four presses quickly became seven, and Plantin could now concentrate on more original and scholarly publications. However, the company came to an end in 1567. The Van Bomberghens were staunch Calvinists and in the Calvinist rising of 1566-1567 showed themselves as such. They had to flee. Plantin was again on his own. His financial situation remained satisfactory, but for months he had to worry about his personal safety. He made a dangerous gamble, the outcome of which was a chance to print the Polyglot Bible (see No. 140) given to him by Philip II. This Polyglot Bible failed to bring in much money, but in the meantime Philip II became interested in the active typographer. King and printer came to terms that the latter should print large quantities of breviaries, missals and similar liturgical works for the Spanish market, which the king would then sell to his personal profit. For the Officina Plantiniana the great expansion had now begun. Besides the Polyglot Bible and the many liturgical works for Spain, Plantin managed to print and publish scores of scholarly works and humanist treatises as well. His presses increased steadily to finally reach sixteen, making his printing-shop the greatest of modern times before the Industrial Revolution would pulverize all previous records. In these years Plantin had some eighty compositors, pressmen, proofreaders, and shop assistants—for that time the equivalent of a plant with about 10,000 employees. His Officina was the largest industrial enterprise of 16th century Netherlands, if not of 16th century Europe.

Mutinous soldiers sacked Antwerp in the so-called "Spanish Fury" (4 November 1576), but the Plantin house escaped devastation and plundering. However, production thereafter slowed down considerably. In 1577 only five presses were at work. The number would increase again, but during Plantin's lifetime there were no

more than ten. Although the quantity of work diminished, the quality remained high. The war disrupted the printing of liturgical works for Spain, but Plantin continued to print hundreds of scholarly works for both national and international markets.

In 1577, when Antwerp joined the rebels in their struggle against Philip II, Plantin had to compromise. Although he never denied the Spanish king, he printed several anti-Spanish pamphlets. However, he refrained as much as he could from open anti-Spanish action.

The war spread to Antwerp : the city came into the battle-line. To avoid the hardships of a siege and to establish a life-line which would continue the business if Antwerp had to surrender, Plantin, at the urgings of a friend, Justus Lipsius, professor at the University of Leiden, moved to that university city to set up a printing-office (beginning of 1583), leaving his "Golden Compasses" in the charge of two competent sons-in-law, Jan Moretus and Frans Raphelengius.

In August 1585 Antwerp capitulated to the armies of Philip II. Even before the outcome, Plantin left Leiden to hasten to his beloved Antwerp. Ultimately, in 1586, his printing office in Leiden was taken over by his son-in-law, Raphelengius, who preferred to leave the Southern Netherlands having become a Calvinist. In Antwerp Plantin was received with open arms. His occasionally ambiguous attitude of previous years was not questioned by the authorities. He continued to print, but the city was slow to recover from the scars of the war. Plantin's later years were marred both by a slackening production and financial troubles (with nostalgia he noted "from our once flourishing press" on many a letter). But, at any rate, when he died on 1 July 1589, he left his favorite son-in-law, Jan Moretus, a well-established firm ; his heirs divided between them the assets of 136,000 florins—some $1,360,000.

TYPE-MATERIAL

Plantin seems to have had an obsessive love for beautiful type and he liked to have the sole possession of it. From the beginning of his career he bought or commissioned large numbers of sets of punches and matrices so he could cast the type he wanted whenever he desired. Ultimately he brought together the largest collection ever gathered by a single typographer. This collection, too, has been preserved in the Plantin-Moretus Museum : 5,000 punches and 20,000 matrices made by the greatest masters of their time—the French typecutters Claude Garamond, Guillaume le Bé, Robert Granjon, and Pierre Haultin ; the Antwerp specialists François Guyot and Amé Tavernier ; the Ghent master Hendrik van den Keere.

128. *Index sive specimen characterum Christophori Plantini.* Antwerp, Plantin, 1567.

In- quarto.

Specimen, without any comment of the different type-fonts Plantin had at his disposal in 1567. This specimen was likely compiled by the typographer during his transactions with Philip II for the Polyglot Bible showing the Spanish king the variety of type-fonts he had acquired. A hundred and fifty copies of this booklet were printed, but only three seem to survive—all three in the Plantin-Moretus Museum ; two of them (as in the edition in this exhibition) showing 43 fonts, the third 44 fonts : 8 Hebrew, 5 Greek, 13 roman, 11 italic, 3 civilité and 3 (or 4) black letter.

Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum

BOOK-ILLUSTRATION

Plantin had no monopoly on illustrated books in Antwerp, but in this category, too, he strove to produce the very best. His books were among the most beautifully illustrated in the Netherlands. The illustrations were always executed by the most capable artists whose talents were available, and because they were published by the greatest typographer of the time, Plantin's illustrated books had of all Antwerp book-illustrations the greatest impact—in the Netherlands and abroad. It may be noted in passing that a large part of the huge collection of illustration materials still preserved in the Plantin-Moretus Museum—some 600 drawings, 15,000 wood-blocks, 3,000 copperplates—goes back to Plantin's time.

To make a book-illustration the woodcutter or copperengraver (or etcher) copied a design. He sometimes provided the design himself, as in the case of a few graphic artists working for Plantin, but in general "inventing" and "executing" were done by different masters.

In his early years as a publisher Plantin used many designs by the Parisian miniaturist, Geoffroy Ballain (1564-1567). This gave a certain French flavor to Plantin's illustrated works of these years. In those same years the typographer also employed the talents of the Antwerp painter and draughtsman Peter Huys. But from 1567 on, till his death in 1608, Peter van der Borcht became the most productive of the designers working for the Officina Plantiniana. Two other Antwerp painters shared with Van der Borcht the honor of setting the standards for Plantinian book-illustration : Crispin van den Broeck (1524-1591 ; active for the Officina from 1566 till 1591) and Marten de Vos (1532-1603 ; active for the Officina from 1581 till 1588).

The woodcutters who executed the designs of these masters or copied the illustrations of other books, edited by French or Italian typographers, were among the best graphic artists of their time : Arnold Nicolai (master in 1550 ; worked for Plantin from 1555 till about 1572), Cornelis Muller (working for Plantin from 1564 till 1572), Gerard Janssen van Kampen (residing in Breda ; working for Plantin from 1564 till 1583), Anton van Leest (working for Plantin from 1566 till 1584). Moreover, Jean de Gourmont of Paris executed in 1565-1566 many of the designs of his fellow-townsman, Geoffroy Ballain.

In book-illustration Plantin was, as explained in the introduction to the graphic art section, the great promoter of copperplate-engraving. For these, he also commissioned the best artists he could find in Antwerp. Foremost among his copper-engravers were Peter Huys (1562 and again 1566-74), Abraham de Bruyn (1570-1581), and the Wiericx brothers, Jan and Hieronymus (1569 till about 1600). Special mention should be made of Peter van der Borcht, Plantin's most important designer who became, from 1574 on, one of his most active illustrators, working generally from his own drawings. Being primarily a draughtsman rather than a graphic artist, Van der Borcht remained an amateur with the burin ; his copperplate illustrations were executed as etchings.

Besides the following, see also Nos. 145 and 147.

129. ANONYMOUS MASTER (Marten de Vos ?),
Jan-Baptist Houwaert under a bower, in company of three virgins.

Drawing on wood-block, 15.4 x 11.4 cm.

The designs for woodcut-illustration in the 16th century were drawn directly on the wood-block, then cut away, thus destroying the original drawing. The Plantin-Moretus Museum has a number of such designs on wood-blocks, which, for one reason or another, were never executed. They include a series of sixteen wood-blocks to be used as illustrations for a work of the Brussels poet Jan-Baptist Houwaert, *Pegasides Pleyn, ende den lust-hof der maeghden* (Pegasides's square and the pleasure-garden of the virgins), a dithyrambic eulogy in sixteen "books" (chapters) on the merits of the women published by Plantin in 1582-1583. This work earned the poet much praise. Houwaert, himself, had to pay the costs of the illustrations, which were at the beginning of each "book." He first commissioned woodcuts, but later changed his mind. *Pegasides-pleyn* finally appeared with sixteen engravings, executed after the drawings on the wood-blocks, while the wood-block series remained uncut.

Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum

MARTEN DE VOS, *Drawings for the illustration of liturgical works of the Plantin-press*

130. *The Last Judgment*

Pen and bister, 26 x 20.2 cm. ; signed and dated 1582.

131. *The Resurrection*

Pen and bister, 26.8 x 16.7 cm. ; signed and dated 1588.

These belong to a series of eight drawings preserved in the Plantin-Moretus Museum that were made by M. de Vos as designs for the illustration of in- folio missals. Two of them are dated 1582 ; one 1588. The Resurrection of 1588, together with three other drawings which must have been completed in the same year, were engraved in copper by Jan Collaert the Elder in 1588-1589 ; these didn't appear in print before 1613. The others, executed in 1582 (including the Last Judgment shown here), were probably never engraved.

Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum

132. *The Adoration of the Shepherds*

Wood-block, 28 x 18.3 cm.

Cut by Gerard Janssen van Kampen after a drawing by Peter van der Borcht. First used in the *Missale Romanum* in-folio of 1575.

Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum

133. *Woodcut grotesque-initials*

Series of 24 initials, 6 x 6 cm., used for the first time in Peter Heyns, *ABC oft exemplen om de kinderen bequamelick te leeren schrijven* (ABC or examples to learn the children to write conveniently), Plantin, 1568. Prints from the original wood-blocks preserved in the Plantin-Moretus Museum.

Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum

134. *Woodcut grotesque "historiated" initials depicting scenes from the Old and New Testament and the Golden Legend*

Series of 11 initials, 9 x 9 cm., cut by Anton van Leest after the designs of Peter van der Borcht in 1571. A similar but somewhat smaller—8.4 x 8.4 cm.—series of 22 initials was probably executed by the same artists. Both series were used for the first time in the monumental

work of De la Hele, *VIII Missae, quinque, sex et septem vocum*, Plantin, 1578. Prints from the original wood-blocks preserved in the Plantin-Moretus Museum.

Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum

135. *Woodcut printer's marks used by Plantin*

In 1557 Plantin adopted as his printer's mark the compasses with the motto "Labore et Constantia." This mark was used for more than three centuries in the Officina Plantiniana. Plantin and his successors, however, liked variation in the theme : Plantin commissioned no less than 65 different marks with the Compasses (of which 14 were never used), mostly in woodcut, some in copperengraving. His successors were no less lavish in this matter, their preference, however, going to copperengraving. In all no less than 115 marks are known, of which these examples are woodcuts, executed in Plantin's time, and printed from original wood-blocks preserved in the Plantin-Moretus Museum. Below, to the right, a combined mark used by the three greatest Antwerp publishers of the time—Plantin, Philip Nutius, and the widow of Joannes Steelsius—for the frontispiece of the *Decretales Gregorii IX*, 1573, a joint venture of the three typographers. Below, to the left, a mark cut by the Strasbourg artist Bernard Jobin and offered as a gift to Plantin at the Frankfurt-fair of September 1572.

Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum

136. *Woodcut emblems*

5.5 x 5.5 cm.

One of the specialities of the Plantin house was the issuing of richly illustrated emblem-books. Plantin published numerous editions of the work of the father of emblematics, the Milanese lawyer Andreas Alciatus, although it was a case of reprinting the texts and recutting emblems that were originally made by French typographers. However, Plantin published the first editions (and numerous re-editions) of two other great specialists in emblematics : the Hungarian humanist Joannes Sambucus (1531-1584 ; first edition of his *Emblemata* by Plantin, with 213 woodcut-illustrations, in 1564), and the Dutch physician Adrianus Junius (1511-1575 ; first edition of his *Emblemata* by Plantin, with 58 woodcut-illustrations, in 1565).
Twenty-four emblems from the *Emblemata* of both Sambucus and Junius are included here ; they were printed from the original wood-blocks preserved in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, and were cut by the

usual wood-cutters working for Plantin—G. Janssens van Kampen en A. Nicolai—mostly after the designs of the Parisian miniaturist Geoffroy Ballain, as well as those of the Antwerp draughtsman Peter Huys.

Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum

PLANTIN AND THE RELIGIOUS CONFLICT OF HIS TIME

In 1555 Plantin started his career as a printer with capital borrowed from the heterodox sect "Family of Love," with which he was affiliated. He always remained faithful to the teachings of this sect: love of Jesus Christ; tolerance in an intolerant age. However, the repression, which set in after the Calvinist rebellion of 1566-1567 (see also No. 140), made Plantin very cautious, and he severed his connections with the "Family of Love" and its prophet Hendrik Niclaes.

To the outside world, Plantin's relations with Philip II, culminating in the publication of the Polyglot Bible and the production of liturgical works for the Spanish market, marked him as a staunch Catholic. Officially he remained a Catholic. But soon after Antwerp joined the rebels in 1577, during one of his journeys in Holland, he came in contact with Hendrik Jansen Barrefelt, an old member of the Family of Love, who had become in the meantime the leader of a closely related group, known as the "Barrefeltists." Plantin came again under the spell of the doctrine that had stamped his youth, and he became a follower of the Barrefeltists, as well as an intimate friend of their prophet whose works he published—anonymously.

137. *Index librorum prohibitorum.* Antwerp, Plantin, 1570.

In- octavo.

Index of forbidden books printed by Plantin for the order of the central government of the Netherlands. It contains the index as fixed by the Council of Trente, together with the Appendix to that Index for the Netherlands, compiled at the request of the Duke of Alva by Benedictus Arias Montanus at Antwerp in 1568-1569. (A separate edition was printed by Plantin in 1569, sedecimo, under the title *Librorum prohibitorum index ex mandato regiae Catholicae Majestatis, et illustriss. Ducis Albani, Consilique Regii decreto confectus et editus.)* The index and the "Appendix in Belgio" divide the forbidden books in three categories: authors of whom all books, already published or still to appear, are condemned; books which are forbidden, though their authors are not considered to be heretics; anonymous works judged to be contrary to the Catholic faith.

Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum

138. HENDRIK JANSEN BARREFELT, *Imagines et figurae Bibliorum. Images et figures de la Bible. Beelden ende figueren wt den Bybel.* [Antwerp, Plantin, 1581].

In- folio, oblong.

Album with 60 etchings representing scenes from the Old Testament, designed and engraved by Peter van der Borcht. The text accompanying the plates, in Latin, French and Dutch, gives an allegorical interpretation of the events related in the Old Testament. The author was the "prophet" of a heterodox and mystical sect to which Plantin belonged. Knowing that neither the Catholics nor the Protestants approved of Barrefelt's teachings, Plantin published then anonymously. His stratagem for the *Imagines et figurae* was this : he pasted on the two first sheets small vignettes with false designations : "Exprimebat Jacobus Villanus. Anno Domini M.D. LXXXI" and "In lucem editae a Renato Christiano. Anno Domini M.D. LXXX". As some of the plates bear the date of 1582, it may be assumed that the years given on the vignettes are also fictitious, and that, in fact, the album appeared in 1582 or 1583.

Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum

BIBLE-EDITIONS

Plantin is known foremost as the man who produced the monumental Polyglot Bible. During his 34 year career as a printer, however, he published some fifty other editions of the Bible, or parts of the Bible, in the original languages (Hebrew, Syriac, Aramaic, Greek, Latin) and in Dutch and French translations as well. Many of these were of great importance in the history of biblical publication.

139. *Hebrew Bible.* Antwerp, Plantin, 1566. First volume of the octavo edition in 4 volumes.

Reprint of the second *Biblia Rabbinica*, published by Daniel van Bomberghen, Venice, 1524-1525, in-folio. Plantin published in 1566 an edition of this Hebrew Bible in-quarto, in-octavo (in 4 volumes) and in-sedecimo (in 4 volumes). They were printed from the same typecomposition : the forms of the quarto were printed first, and then rearranged for the printing of the octavo and sedecimo. The work began in December 1564 and it was completed in January 1567. Plantin printed in all 5,200 complete Bibles (2,600 in-quarto, 1,300 in-octavo, 1,300 in-sedecimo), 2.600 extra copies of the Pentateuch (1,300

in-quarto, 1,300 in-octavo), and 1,500 extra copies of the Psalms and Proverbs (200 in-octavo, 1,300 in-sedecimo): the largest edition he ever printed (generally the number of copies of his editions was 1,250; the best-sellers were printed at 2,500 copies). These Hebrew Bibles were in fact not destined for christian scholars but for a Jewish public. The bulk was sold in Germany, but quite an important part of the edition was shipped to Morocco and sold, with a large profit, to the Jewish colonies in that part of the Moslim world.

Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum

140. *Polyglot Bible*. Volumes 1 and 5

The Polyglot Bible, printed by Plantin in 1568-1572 in eight monumental in-folio volumes was one of the greatest typographical achievements of the 16th century and a landmark in the history of Bible-printing. The story of this gigantic enterprise reads as a novel.

In the Spanish university-city of Alcala, Cardinal Ximenes had edited, in 1514-1517, the first Polyglot Bible in six volumes and four languages (Latin, Greek, Hebrew and Aramaic); for its time it was a monument of erudition. But it was precisely in 1517 that Martin Luther posted his theses against indulgences on the castle church of Wittenberg. From the very outset the growing tide of Protestantism displayed great interest in biblical texts. The Catholic theologians were also compelled to engage in more profound biblical interpretation than ever before.

Christopher Plantin was an ambitious man. He wanted to publish the best that could be offered "for the benefit of the Christian republic" as he expressed it in a letter. This included a scholarly edition of the biblical texts in the original languages. In a letter dated 26 February 1565, Plantin mentioned the project to his friend Andreas Masius. At the fair in Frankfurt, during Lent of 1566, he was able to show a specimen page to all who were interested. Plantin's plan was still modest. He wanted only to bring out a new edition of the Alcala-Bible. However, political troubles were to decide otherwise.

1566 was the so-called "Year of Wonders," of the iconoclastic storm and Calvinist rebellion in the Netherlands. In 1563 Plantin entered into partnership with members of the Van Bomberghen family. Thanks to these rich merchants he was able to pursue his typographical plans in a grand way. But the Van Bomberghens were staunch Calvinists, and some of Plantin's partners revealed themselves as such during and after the iconoclastic storm. They compelled

Plantin to collaborate in establishing a clandestine, anti-Spanish printing-press at Vianen, the country-seat near Utrecht, of Brederode, one of the foremost Protestant leaders. During the first months of 1567, the tide went against the Calvinists. Those most implicated tried to escape persecution by a headlong flight ; among them were Plantin's partners. Plantin remained behind, alone, but with a well-equipped business and widespread distributional connections. So far as the finances went, the end of the partnership did not deal Plantin a death blow. However, there was a chance that Plantin's role in establishing the anti-Spanish printing press at Vianen might come to light. This would have been considered high-treason for which the authorities would show no mercy. Plantin might have fled with his partners, but he was unwilling to abandon his business. He decided to face the storm in Antwerp. He began a dangerous gamble with his head at stake.

The printer knew a number of prominent Spaniards and Spanish sympathizers. Throughout 1567 he flooded these people with letters elaborating upon his Catholic orthodoxy, and his devotion to Philip II, at such lengths that he himself often softened his expressions of devotion when making copies of the letters. One of the prominent Spaniards was none other than Gabriel de Çayas, secretary to Philip II, who had made Plantin's acquaintance during his stay in the Netherlands in 1555-1559. Already in late 1566, i.e. even before the Calvinists had been defeated in Antwerp, and before government troops had put an end to the printing-press at Vianen, Plantin suggested to De Çayas a tempting bait to interest his master : a proposal for a scholarly publication of the texts of the Bible in their original languages. Thereafter, no week passed without Plantin writing to De Çayas, in which were intertwined his confessions of Catholic faith and the details about the Polyglot Bible. However, Philip II's secretary had more important things to do than answer those repeated letters. The correspondence ceased in the summer of 1567, precisely at the moment the Duke of Alva entered the Netherlands with a Spanish Army. The tone of Plantin's letters now became pathetic. It was clear he was on the verge of a nervous breakdown when late in September 1567, he unexpectedly received a letter from De Çayas : it pleased His Majesty to consider the possibility of subsidizing a new edition of a Polyglot Bible.

This was an enormous relief for Plantin : with the Spanish monarch as his patron, he had little to fear even from Alva. In his answer of 1 October 1567, a calmer man was speaking, and De Çayas henceforth was spared Plantin's expressions of political and religious devotion. Their ensuing correspondence was restricted to business matters.

It may be an exaggeration to say that the Polyglot Bible saved Plantin's head, but it is certain that no other circumstances would have made his proposals to the ruler of the Netherlands so effective : the anti-Spanish printing press at Vianen (the secret of which the Spanish Intelligence Service never discovered) resulted in the publication of the Polyglot Bible in a form and size, which Plantin had never dared dream of before.

Philip II entrusted the supervision of the Polyglot Bible to the Spanish theologian Benedictus Arias Montanus (1527-1598), a member of the Spanish military monastic order of St. James, and from 1566 chaplain to the King. He was then barely 41 years old, but already well-known for his role at the Council of Trente.

Arias Montanus arrived in Antwerp on 17 May 1568. Plantin had looked forward with a certain suspicion to his arrival. He expected a surly, fanatic Spanish theologian of the old school, he met a humanist with a noble and captivating character. A warm friendship arose between printer and theologian at once, which ended only with Plantin's death in 1589. The printer was less enraptured that his new friend immediately set about the business in such a grand way that he exceeded the budget which Plantin had obtained from Philip II after so much difficulty. Instead of just a reprint of the Alcala-Bible, Arias Montanus decided to produce a completely revised edition with the addition of the Syriac-texts of the New Testament. The Antwerp Polyglot was to be an edition in five languages : Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldaic (as Aramaic was then called ; printed in Hebrew characters), and Syriac (for which Plantin had a special alphabet cut).

What upset Plantin, fundamentally, was the fact that Arias Montanus decided to use a larger and consequently far more expensive page size, and correspondingly larger characters. However, Philip II's chaplain was able to convince his lord and master to raise the subsidies : the first promise of 14,000 florins was ultimately raised to 21,000 (one florin then had a purchase capacity of about $22).

The work began. Arias was the driving force behind the gigantic undertaking. For four years he worked at his Bible practically eleven hours a day, including Sundays and feastdays. He himself chose the texts to be followed, as well as the variants in the texts. Moreover he translated many Aramaic texts into Latin, and wrote quite a number of the treatises which made the "Apparatus," the last three volumes of the Polyglot Bible, so valuable. In this difficult task Arias Montanus was ably assisted by Plantin's scholarly staff. The two principal collaborators were Frans Raphelengius, Plantin's son-in-law (who married Plantin's eldest daughter, Margareta, in 1563) and who was then the foremost specialist in Oriental languages in the Netherlands.

(Besides Hebrew, and Aramaic, Raphelengius also had a good knowledge of Arabic, of which he compiled a grammar and a lexicon).

Montanus' second collaborator was the French expert Guido Le Fèvre de la Boderie, who had come to Antwerp especially to collaborate on the Polyglot Bible. Other short-term collaborators took care of supplementary texts, dictionaries and grammar-books for the "Apparatus."

Arias Montanus arrived in Antwerp on 17 May 1568 ; scarcely three months later, on 14 August 1568, the first two sheets of the first volume were printed. This first volume was finished on 12 March 1569. The other volumes followed at a rapid pace : volume two on 8 October 1569, volume three on 8 July 1570, two weeks after the completion of volume four. The Old Testament was thus ready. Volume five—the New Testament—left the press on 5 February 1571.

In the meantime the three last volumes, the "Apparatus," had been begun. Early in 1572 the end was at last in sight. It was now time to consider papal approval. In fact this had been thought of for some time, but Pope Pius V had shown himself reserved. Arias Montanus finally decided to go to the Vatican and plead the course himself. He left for Rome on 26 April 1572. By the time of his arrival, Pius V had died and been succeeded by Gregory XIII, who was favorably disposed toward the undertaking. With a deep sigh of relief, Arias Montanus received the Pope's approval on 23 August 1572. But not all adversaries had been silenced by this approval. Later on Arias Montanus had to endure fierce criticism from the bishop of Roermond, Willem Lindanus. Much more dangerous was the campaign launched in Spain by Leon de Castro, the learned but extremely conservative professor at the University of Salamanca, who even brought the Inquisition into action against the Polyglot Bible and its creator.

Arias Montanus went through some difficult moments, but the Inquisition thought twice before bringing open action against Philip II's influential councellor. (After another two years' stay in the Low Countries Arias had returned to Spain in 1575, where he lived for many years in the Escurial, arranging the royal library and fulfilling numerous confidential tasks for his monarch.) Ultimately, the dispute was settled in favor of Arias Montanus, and the Polyglot Bible.

This dispute did not affect Plantin, who had enough worries of his own. It had been agreed with Philip II that 1,213 copies should be printed in all, namely 13 copies on parchment exclusively for the Spanish king, 10 on "grand papier impérial d'Italie" (to be sold at 200 florins, or about $4,400), 30 on "papier impérial à l'aigle" (100 fl., or $2,200), 200 on "papier fin royal au raisin" from Lyons (80 fl., or $1,760) and finally 960 copies on "papier grand royal de Troyes" (70

fl.; 60 fl. to the booksellers). However, on 1 April 1572, when the Protestant "Sea-Beggars" took the Brill, the powder keg of the Low Countries exploded. Until then Plantin had regularly received the cash advances from the royal treasury to pay his workmen and paper-suppliers. Now, in the midst of the chaos, he was forgotten. He experienced great difficulty in borrowing money, at his own risks and at heavy interest-rates, and it looked as though the rebellion might end in favor of the rebels. Plantin was taken by surprise by these events while he was still printing two volumes of the "Apparatus" (volumes 6 and 8). At this time of uncertainty, in order to reduce his risks, he printed only 600 copies of the 1,200 allotment to which he was bound by contract. At the end of 1572, the Southern Low Countries were again in Spanish hands. Plantin once more received his Spanish subsidies, though somewhat parsimoniously and at longer intervals. He hastened to reset the texts, and print the remaining 600 copies. In August 1573, the final parts of the text left the press.

Consequently the Polyglot Bible, officially completed in 1572, was actually finished in August 1573. Moreover, it meant something else. Although the same texts were reset, typesetters do not always space texts in the same way. In resetting type there are always differences with the result that, to the despair of bibliographers, there are two distinct versions of volumes 6 and 8 of the Polyglot Bible in circulation. They are distinguishable from one another only by small typographical variations.

The Antwerp Polyglot Bible or the Royal Bible, as Arias Montanus and Plantin called it, in honor of Philip II, was a monument of erudition and the first really scholarly edition of the Bible texts. It was particularly important for its inclusion of the Aramaic and Syriac texts. In its time, this edition of the Bible was enthusiastically received by countless theologians and others. Its adversaries did not succeed in spoiling its success, as mentioned above.

Only twice since 1573 has an attempt been made to edit the complete Bible in the various original languages. The Antwerp Polyglot was followed in 1629-1645 by the Paris Polyglot, on the initiative of Guy Michel Le Jay (with the addition of Samaritan and Arabic texts), and in 1655-1657 by the London Polyglot of Brian Walton, afterwards Bishop of Chester (with the addition of Ethiopic and Persian texts). However, in their essential parts, the Paris as well as the London Polyglot Bibles have followed the Antwerp Polyglot.

The Polyglot Bible also stimulated Plantin's further career, though its publication did not mean any significant financial advantage. Today, when analyzing his records, one gets the impression that, despite royal subsidies, there was a deficit. However, through the Polyglot Bible

the printer had come into contact with the Spanish king and was able to acquire remunerative contracts. These included, among others, a monopoly for the sale of certain liturgical works (breviaries, missals, books of hours) in Spain, for which Philip II himself acted as bookseller. With the Polyglot Bible, albeit indirectly, a new period of expansion for the Officina Plantiniana had begun.

Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum

141. *Novum Testamentum Syriace.* Antwerp, Plantin, 1575.

In-twenty-fourmo.

Text of the Syriac version of the New Testament, printed in Hebrew type.

In 1575 Plantin published a Syriac edition of the New Testament in-octavo and in-twenty-fourmo, from the same set type : first the text of the octavo publication was printed (on two columns) and then the composition rearranged for printing the in-twenty-fourmo edition (on one column). These Syriac versions of the New Testament (reprinted from the fifth volume of Plantin's Polyglot Bible) could be sold separately, but were in fact considered to be complementary volumes to the octavo and twenty-fourmo Hebrew Old Testaments issued by Plantin in 1574. The four volumes of the in-twenty-fourmo Hebrew Old Testament and the in-twenty-fourmo Syriac New Testament form, together, the first pocket-edition of the Bible in the Semitic languages.

Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum

THE SCHOLARLY PRODUCTION

142. ANDRE THEVET, *Les Singularitez de la France antarctique, autrement nommée Amerique, et de plusieurs Terres et Isles decouvertes de nostre temps.* Antwerp, Plantin, 1558.

In-octavo.

Description by the French traveler André Thevet (Angoulême, about 1502-Paris, 1590) of his journey to America in 1555-1556, where he accompanied chevalier de Villegagnon, charged with the founding of the (short-lived) French colony of "Antarctic France" at Rio de Janeiro (Brazil). The larger part of the work is devoted to the trip and the description of Brazil, but chapters on Mexico, Florida, Canada, and New Foundland are at the end.

Reprint by Plantin from the Paris edition, by the heirs of Maurice de

la Porte, 1557. The rather crude woodcut-illustrations by Arnold Nicolai are also copied from the Paris publication.

Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum

143. *Thesaurus Theutonicae linguae. Schat der Neder-duijtscher spraken.* Antwerp, Plantin, 1573.

In-quarto.

Owing to a lack of good dictionaries, Plantin had much difficulty learning Dutch. As a Frenchman he took pride in giving the Dutch language its first dictionary worthy of the name. The result appeared in 1573 under the title *Thesaurus Theutonicae linguae* (Dutch, French, Latin). It was the collective work of Plantin and his proofreaders. One of these proofreaders, Cornelis Kiliaan, had a major part in the enterprise and continued on his own behalf—much to the annoyance of Plantin. There were frictions between employer and employee, but in the end Kiliaan was allowed to proceed. Plantin published Kiliaan's *Dictionarium Teutonico-Latinum* in 1574, and a second enlarged edition in 1588 ; a third edition was published by Jan Moretus in 1599 under the title *Etymologicum Teutonicae linguae*. All later dictionaries of the Dutch language are derived from Plantin's *Thesaurus* and Kiliaan's *Dictionarium* and *Etymologicum*.

Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum

144. MATHIAS LOBELIUS, *Plantarum seu stirpium historia. Cui annexum est Adversariarum volumen.* Antwerp, Plantin, 1576.

In-folio.

This important herbal consists of two parts. The first part was printed by Plantin, and contains 1,473 woodcuts. The second part, the *Nova Stirpium Adversaria*, composed by Lobelius in collaboration with Petrus Pena, was in fact printed in London by Thomas Purfoot in 1571. Plantin bought 800 copies of the edition for the price of 1,200 florins and joined them to his own edition. Later, in 1580, he purchased 150 of the 272 Purfoot wood-blocks to use in the printing of his other herbals.

Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum

145. *Four wood-blocks representing plants, used in the herbals published by the Officina Plantiniana.*

One of the great specialities of Plantin and the first Moretuses was the edition of herbals by some of the greatest names in the history of bot-

any : Rembert Dodoens (Malines, 1518-Leiden, 1585), Carolus Clusius (Arras, 1526-Leiden, 1609), Mathias Lobelius (Lille, 1538-Highgate, 1616). Plantin commissioned hundreds of wood-blocks and bought as many more from other printers (e.g., 250 from the London printer Purfoot in 1580, and more than a thousand from the widow of the Antwerp printer, Joannes Loaeus, the first publisher of Dodoens, in 1581).

In 1581 Plantin printed under the title *Plantarum seu stirpium icones* his whole collection of 2,181 blocks with a brief description of each by Lobelius. Jan Moretus commissioned many more blocks for the works of Clusius. In 1659 Balthasar Moretus II tried to make a deal with the Amsterdam publisher, Peter van Waesberghe, for the sale of no less than 3,180 blocks of plants in his possession. Happily the agreement was not concluded, and the blocks remained in the Plantinian House where they still form a numerically and culturally important part of the Museum's wood-block-collection.

Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum

146. LODOVICO GUICCIARDINI, *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi.* Antwerp, Plantin, 1581.

In-folio.

Silvius brought the first editions of this Description of the Netherlands (see No. 116), in Italian and French, in 1567 and 1568. Plantin took over the initiative and published in 1581 a new Italian version, stating proudly (but with exaggeration) on the title-page that the text had been more than doubled by the author. In 1582, a French translation followed ; then an Italian edition in 1588. Lavishly illustrated (see No. 147), these "Descriptions" are among the most beautiful and interesting volumes published by Plantin.

Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum

147. The Antwerp Cathedral. Copperplate from Lodovico Guicciardini, *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi.* Antwerp, Plantin, 1581.

24 x 32 cm.

Plantin had his editions of Guicciardini illustrated with a great number of maps of Netherland's provinces and cities, and four views of Antwerp monuments, all executed in copperengraving. The Antwerp Cathedral, shown here, is copied from the woodcut in Silvius' 1567-edition (see No. 117), but for the other illustrations Plantin commissioned local draughtsmen, to procure him the most exact plans and maps available. "Owing to the war" he could in his first-Italian-

edition of 1581 print only 56 illustrations, but in the French edition of the following year the number was already raised to 79, making of this publication a real atlas of the provinces and cities of the Low Countries.

Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum

148. HORATIUS, *Opera omnia, cum novis argumentis.* Antwerp, Plantin, 1586.

In-twenty-fourmo.

Sixth edition of the Complete Works of Horace published by Plantin (text without notes ; the 1576 edition by Theodoor Poelman seems to have been followed). The second volume in a series of handy pocket-editions of classical authors, the publication of which Plantin started in 1585 with a Juvenalis. In the foreword to the Juvenalis Plantin explains that he intended the series "for use by poor students and by travelers who like to take with them many books in a small volume."

Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum

PLANTIN AND JUSTUS LIPSIUS

Justus Lipsius (Overijsche near Brussels, 18 October 1547 - Louvain, 23 March 1606) was the dominant figure in the humanist world of the Netherlands in the 16th century and an internationally famed classical philologist. His life has to be read with a Baedeker at hand. After his studies at Louvain, he became secretary to Cardinal Granvelle in Rome (1567-69). Returning to the Netherlands and finding Alva's absolute rule distasteful, he left for Germany. After serving as professor at the university of Jena (1572-74), he stayed for some time in Cologne, coming back to Louvain at the time of the resistance of the Southern Netherlands against Spain (1576-77), but when the political and military tide changed, he settled down in the North, where he became professor at the university of Leiden (1578-91). Sentiment did force him to again cross the border and end his days as a professor in Louvain. In turn Catholic, Lutheran at Jena, Calvinist, and again Catholic, Lipsius belonged in fact to the same mystic and heterodox sect as Plantin. This may also explain their lifelong friendship. From 1569 till Lipsius' death, Plantin and his sons-in-law Frans Raphelengius, at Leiden, and Jan Moretus, at Antwerp, published the first editions of all the works of the prolific Lipsius, and produced many re-editions as well. A great number of documents and letters

relating to the great humanist are still preserved in the Plantin-Moretus Museum.

149. JUSTUS LIPSIUS, *De recta pronunciatione Latinae linguae dialogus. Ad V. Illustrem Philippum Sidneium, Equitem.* Antwerp, Plantin, 1586.

In-quarto.

First edition of this dialogue on the pronunciation of the Latin language supposedly held between Justus Lipsius and the Italian scholar M. Antonius Muretus.

Justus Lipsius lived at that moment in Leiden (Holland), and the book was actually printed at Leiden in the Officina Plantiniana held by Plantin's son-in-law Frans Raphelengius. Of the publications of the prolific Lipsius printed in the Dutch university-town between 1586 and 1590, a number of copies were published with the Leiden-imprint, others received Plantin's Antwerp address. Plantin had, in fact, obtained from the Spanish authorities the permission to import the works of Lipsius from the Calvinist North and sell them in the Catholic South, but under his own name. Plantin, however, was not pleased with this particular edition, since it was dedicated to Sir Philip Sidney, agent of Queen Elizabeth in Holland. This was no less than high-treason in the eyes of the Spanish government. It is doubtful if Plantin sold so much as a single copy in the Southern Netherlands. At any rate, when sending copies to officials at Brussels he removed the foreword and cut out the title-page or that part on the title-page making mention of Sir Philip Sidney. In a single instance he is known to have mailed an unaltered copy to an influential Malines canon, a personal friend whom he trusted, explaining the problem, and begging him not to reveal the contents of the incriminating parts.

Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum

150. JUSTUS LIPSIUS, *De cruce libri tres.* Antwerp, Officina Plantiniana, 1593.

In-quarto.

First edition of this study of the cross—and its use in execution—in Antiquity, richly illustrated with etchings by Peter van der Borcht.

Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum

151. JUSTUS LIPSIUS, *"Ad lectorem."*

Foreword "to the reader," for Justus Lipsius' *De cruce libri tres*, 1593.

This manuscript text was intended for the compositors of the Officina Plantiniana. Copied by a professional scribe, it contains some authographed corrections by the author.

Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum

B. THE MORETUSES

At his death in 1589, Plantin left his Officina Plantiniana to his favorite son-in-law, Jan Moretus (Antwerp, 1543-1610), married to his second daughter Martina, who from the age of 14 had served him faithfully.

Jan Moretus had to fight a grim battle to survive. The depression in the Southern Netherlands, with which Plantin had had to cope in his later years, continued for some time, slowing down production, while at the same time Moretus had to settle with his co-heirs. Somehow, he overcame the obstacles. The Officina Plantiniana did survive. However, the climate for publishing in the Southern Netherlands had changed, as previously explained. Jan Moretus, originally, like his father-in-law, a follower of Barrefelt, became the great printer of the Catholic Counter Reformation. Nevertheless, for some time, in the true spirit of Plantin, he continued to publish scholarly works of great value. These included the rich array of publications by Justus Lipsius.

Jan Moretus was succeeded by his sons, Balthasar (1574-1641) and Jan II (1576-1618). Balthasar was himself a brilliant scholar and under his direction the Officina Plantiniana retained an international reputation as a humanist printing center. A school friend of Rubens, Balthasar was able to induce the great master of the Flemish Baroque to design many a frontispiece and book-illustration. Thanks to Rubens, the illustrated Baroque-book (especially the frontispiece) reached its perfection in the Officina Plantiniana, under Balthasar. Balthasar being a bachelor, was succeeded by a son of Jan II, Balthasar II (1615-1674).

As already mentioned, Plantin's expansion from 1568 to 1576 resulted largely from the monopoly he had obtained from Philip II to print liturgical works—breviaries, missals, books of hours—for the Spanish market. The rising of the Southern Netherlands in 1576 stopped this export. Plantin and Jan Moretus did no more work for Spain. However, Balthasar I was able to renew these contacts, and regain Plantin's monopoly.

Balthasar I, the humanist, diversified his production as best he could, publishing scholarly and theological works besides liturgical books. With the dying out of these flames of Catholic humanism in the Southern Netherlands that had been kindled by the Counter Reformation, the production of scholarly and theological books also faded away under his successors. Under Balthasar Moretus II, the Officina Plantiniana now restricted its output to liturgical works. Thanks to the continuance of the Spanish privileges, the Officina Plantiniana remained a thriving business for more than a century, but its role in shaping the spiritual life in Western Europe belonged to the past.

ACTUALITY ILLUSTRATED

JOANNES BOCHIUS, *Descriptio gratulationis publicae, spectaculorum et ludorum, in adventu serenissimi principis Ernesti archiducis Austriae* ... Antwerp, Officina Plantiniana, 1595.

In-folio.

Description by J. Bochius, secretary of the city of Antwerp, of the solemnal entry into the town of Archduke Ernest, governor-general for Philip II, in June 1594. Edition sponsored and partly paid for by the City ; richly illustrated with etchings by Peter van der Borcht after his own designs.
It was an Antwerp tradition that at each solemnal entry of the prince or his representative the city was decorated with expensive triumphal arches and "theatres." These were financed, partly by the City, partly by the "foreign nations" (the corporations of foreign merchants). All the arches and "theatres" are reproduced in Bochius' Description.

152. *Front-side of the arch erected by the Portuguese nation*

33 x 20 cm.

Printed from the original copperplate preserved in the Plantin-Moretus Museum.

153. *Stand with the statue of Antwerp's legendary giant, Druon Antigoon*

32.5 x 20 cm.

Printed from the original copperplate preserved in the Plantin-Moretus Museum.

Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum

JOANNES BOCHIUS, *Historica narratio profectionis et inaugurationis serenissimorum Belgii principum Alberti et Isabellae, Austriae archiducum.* Antwerp, Officina Plantiniana, 1602.

In-folio.

Description by J. Bochius, secretary of the city of Antwerp, of the solemnal entry of the Archdukes Albert and Isabella in the town 5-10 December 1599.
Edition sponsored and partly paid for by the City ; richly illustrated with etchings by Peter van der Borcht, after his own designs. See also the preceding item.

154. *The Archdukes entering the City*

32 x 43.5 cm.

Printed from the original copperplate preserved in the Plantin-Moretus Museum.

155. *A triumphal arch in the City*

32 x 44 cm.

Original copperplate with print.

156. *A revolving theatre in one of the market-places*

32 x 44 cm.

Printed from the original copperplate, preserved in the Plantin-Moretus Museum.

Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum

A VENTURE IN PUBLISHING AND COLOR-PRINTING

157. HUBERTUS GOLTZIUS, *Icones Imperatorum Romanorum, ex priscis numismatibus ad vivum delineatae, et brevi narratione historica illustratae. Accessit modo Impp. Romano Austriacorum series ab Alberto II. Aug. ad usque Ferdinandum III. Aug. per annos CC continuos deducta stylo et opera Gasperii Gevartii.* Volume V of the *Opera Omnia Huberti Goltzii.* Antwerp, Officina Plantiniana, 1645.

In-folio.

In 1645, Balthasar Moretus II published a five volume new edition of the collected archaeological works of the Bruges painter, engraver, dealer in antiquities, numismatic expert, and printer, Hubertus Golt-

zius (1526-1583). Actually, the first four volumes were copies of the Antwerp edition of 1617-1620, printed by G. Wolschaten and published by Jacobus Biaeus, though they received new title-pages and a new introduction. Balthasar I had conceived the plan but it was executed by his nephew and successor, Balthasar Moretus II. At any rate, it was Balthasar Moretus I who in 1627 bought the small remaining stock of these four volumes, from no less a dealer than P. P. Rubens himself. But one important work of Goltzius was missing in the original Biaeus edition : the *Vivae omnium fere imperatorum imagines*, a series of portraits of the emperors of Rome and the Holy Roman Empire, executed from coins and originally edited in 1557. Balthasar I decided to publish this as well. He had the wood-blocks cut again (see following No.) and commissioned the Antwerp humanist and secretary of the city, Gaspar Gevartius, to rewrite and complete the texts referring to the Habsburg emperors.

Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum

158. *Portrait of Emperor Charles V.* The two blocks for the two-color print in the *Icones Imperatorum Romanorum,* being volume V of the *Opera Omnia Huberti Goltzii.*

The portraits in Goltzius' *Vivae omnium fere imperatorum imagines*, 1557, had been executed in two color-woodcuts : flat blocks printed in ochre giving the background, with incisions for the light effects ; blocks in relief printed in black for the outlines. Balthasar I had the series copied with about ten additions of later emperors not given by Goltzius. The commission was entrusted to Christopher Jegher, who executed the 144 portraits from 1631 to 1634. Jegher himself made the drawings of the additional portraits, including this one of Charles V. The latter was probably inspired from the copy made by Rubens, from Titian's painting.

Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum

A TENTATIVE IN FACSIMILE REPRODUCTION

159. *Martyrologium sancti Hieronymi*

Copperplate, 29.5 x 18.5 cm., with print.

The *Martyrologium*, attributed to Saint Hieronymus, forms an important source in the Martyrological literature. In the beginning years of the 8th century, in the abbey of Echternach (actual Luxembourg), the scribe Laurentius transcribed the text in a characteristic

Anglo-Saxon hand. The manuscript is now preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale at Paris. Heribertus Rosweydus, the learned Jesuit father and director of the famous *Acta Sanctorum*-publication, must have studied it closely. Under the supervision of Rosweydus, but at the expenses of Balthasar Moretus I, Andries Pauwels engraved 25 plates between the years 1628 and 1633, reproducing the original text nearly perfectly. This may well be the first attempt to reproduce a manuscript in facsimile. However, the work was never finished, nor the plates ever printed to sell. Later, in 1660, Balthasar Moretus II did print nine copies from the existing plates, of which, apparently, only two have survived : one in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, the other now in the Bibliothèque nationale at Paris, sent by Moretus to the French scholar Dom Luc d'Achery.
However, the first plate was reproduced in 1675 in the *Propylaeum* of the second volume of April in the *Acta Sanctorum*. It was slightly retouched for this purpose : to the heading "Martyrologium D. Hieronymi" were added lines explaining that the plate had been engraved in 1626 (in error for 1628) at the cost of Balthasar Moretus, and under the supervision of Rosweydus.

Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum

ARCHEOLOGY ILLUSTRATED

160. JOANNES JACOBUS CHIFFLET, *Anastasis Childerici I Francorum regis, sive thesaurus sepulchralis*. Antwerp, Officina Plantiniana, 1655.

In-quarto.

On 27 May 1653, the sepulchre of Childeric, King of the Franks (5th century), buried with his treasures was discovered at Tournai. The relics were offered to Archduke Leopold-William, governor of the Southern Netherlands, and shipped to Vienna in 1656; (In 1665, they were given to King Louis XIV of France ; what remained of the treasure, after a sensationel robbery in 1831, is now preserved in the Louvre at Paris.)
Before the items left Brussels, J. J. Chifflet, physician of the Archduke and a renowned archeologist, studied them carefully. In his remarkable *Anastasis Childerici I*, all the objects are reproduced and carefully described. The plates were engraved by Cornelis Galle II after the drawings by Jacob van Werden. All of the 27 original plates—and two of the drawings—are still in the Plantin-Moretus Museum.

Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum

161. Copperplate, engraved by CORNELIS GALLE II, after a drawing by Jacob van Werden for J. J. Chifflet, *Anastasis Childerici I*, 1655.

Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum

C. RUBENS AS BOOK-ILLUSTRATOR OF THE OFFICINA PLANTINIANA

As a favor to his brother Philip, Rubens turned to book-illustration in 1608. His task was to adorn Philip's study, *Electorum libri III*, with some archeological drawings. This study was published by Jan Moretus.

When Balthasar Moretus became head of the Officina Plantiniana he induced Rubens to make illustrations for some of his books. The first work to appear with contributions by the master—a frontispiece and six vignettes—was Aguilonius' *Opticorum libri sex*, 1613. In the meantime the painter had been commissioned to "modernize" the illustrations of the *Breviarium Romanum* and the *Missale Romanum*, both of which appeared in 1614.

The designs for the breviary and missal (eleven in all) were, strictly speaking, Rubens' only contribution to book-illustration proper. Rubens also drew about seven portraits (including one of his late brother Philip in the latter's posthumous publication, *S. Asterii Amaseae homiliae*, 1615 ; a portrait of Justus Lipsius ; the dying Seneca, and a bust of the Roman philosopher for Lipsius' edition of the works of Seneca). His attention, however, went primarily to the book frontispiece. In all, between 1613 and 1637, he made about 24 of these.

By 1637 Rubens' strength began to fail. However, he continued until his death (in 1640) to work for his friend Balthasar. After 1637 he contented himself with creating the plan, leaving to his pupil, Erasmus Quellin, the task of executing the actual drawings. This collaboration between master and pupil produced one portrait and five frontispieces, altogether.

In his frontispieces, Rubens, the great master of the Baroque, tried to render the content of the books allegorically and symbolically—each so complicated and subtle that the publisher had often to include an explanatory note in the foreword.

Rubens began his career as a designer of frontispieces in a formal, classical style. Most likely, Balthasar Moretus guided his friend's first efforts in this new field. In the archives of the Plantin-Moretus Museum are preserved crude sketches, with annotations made by Bal-

thasar to be used as guidelines by Rubens for the frontispiece of the 1614 Breviary. The painter, however, quickly learned the tricks of the trade, and outdid his humanist master in the subtle game of allegorical and symbolical allusion.

His style changed with the years. A vertical, symmetric, style gave way, after 1626, to the grouping of figures more elliptically. Then about 1632, his frontispieces became free compositions in the finest tradition of Baroque painting.

In his later years, however, Rubens returned to the calmer vertical and symmetric style of his youth ; in this same style one may see the drawings executed by Quellin from Rubens' plans.

The engravings were generally executed by members of the Galle-studio, in particular Cornelis Galle. The designer of these times, even when he was as famous as Rubens, was paid much less than the engraver, the technical expert, who, it may be added, had to provide for the copperplate, as well. Rubens didn't seem to mind. He was a sharp businessman, and knew that illustrations must not be too expensive or they would prohibit sales of the books that contained them. He also knew how much a working-day in his studio could bring from painting—much more than Balthasar could ever afford for his book designs ! Rubens drew the only sound conclusion and there are clear indications that Rubens' drawings for his friend's books were executed on Sundays and feastdays, when the master could not work with his pupils in his studio. In the literal sense of the word the drawings were "Sunday-work."

162. Frontispiece for : FRANCISCUS AGUILONIUS, *Opticorum libri sex philosophis juxta ac mathematicis utiles*. Officina Plantiniana, 1613.

In-folio.

Engraved by Theodoor Galle ; copperplate still in the Plantin-Moretus Museum. The original drawing by Rubens is in the British Museum, London. Rubens received 20 fl., the engraver 75 fl. for his work and the copperplate.
This remarkable treatise on optics by Aguilon, the learned scholar at the Jesuit College at Antwerp, was also illustrated with six vignettes, engraved by Theodoor Galle after drawings by Rubens.

Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum

163. Frontispiece for : GIACOMUS BOSIUS, *Crux triumphans et gloriosa*. Officina Plantiniana, 1617.

In-folio.

Engraved by Cornelis Galle ; copperplate still in the Plantin-Moretus Museum. The original drawing by Rubens is in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
Cornelis Galle received 75 fl. for his work and the copperplate, Rubens 20 fl. for the design.

Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum

164. Frontispiece for : FRANCISCUS HARAEUS, *Annales ducum seu principum Brabantiae totiusque Belgii,* I. Officina Plantiniana, 1623.

In-folio.

Engraved by Cornelis Galle ; copperplate still in the Plantin-Moretus Museum. The original drawing by Rubens is in the British Museum, London. Cornelis Galle received 75 fl. for his work and the copperplate, Rubens 20 fl. for his drawing.

Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum

165. Frontispiece for : BALTHASAR CORDERIUS, *Catena sexaginta quinque Graecorum patrum in S. Lucam.* Officina Plantiniana, 1628.

In-folio.

Engraved by Cornelis Galle, who received for his work and the plate 80 fl. ; copperplate still in the Plantin-Moretus Museum. Rubens received for his drawing 20 fl.
The Jesuit-author was a bit shocked at the way Verity (at top right) was depicted. Balthasar Moretus answered him in a letter dated 28 November 1628, "Rubens believes that Verity, which at first he had represented completely nude, is now sufficiently covered."

Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum

166. Frontispiece for : LUDOVICUS BLOSIUS, *Opera.* Officina Plantiniana, 1632.

In-folio.

Engraved by Cornelis Galle, who received for his work and the plate 95 fl. ; copperplate still in the Plantin-Moretus Museum. The original drawing by Rubens, who received for his part 20 fl., is in the British Museum, London.

Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum

167. P. P. RUBENS, Drawing for a frontispiece

Pen in ink, washed, chalk, gouache-touches ; 30.8 x 19.7 cm. Inscriptions by the hand of the artist.

Design for the frontispiece of *Justi Lipsii Opera omnia*, Antwerp, Officina Plantiniana, 1637, in-folio. As a composition, the frontispiece can be compared with the overture of an opera : it announces the main themes which are dealt within the body (text) of the work. Above an aperture, closed by a rustic arch, a medallion with the portrait of Justus Lipsius and his motto MORIBVS ANTIQVIS. Above that, a double lamp lighting Politics on the left, and on the right, Philosophy. Politics is represented with attributes symbolizing the domination of the world : the globe, the helmet (government), and the castle (power), and is specified by the inscription POLITICA. Philosophy wears the skin of a lion and holds the club of Hercules, an allusion to the choice of Hercules who, at the crossroads, chose the path of Virtue ; these allusions suggest the ethical tendency of the philosophy of Lipsius. The box on which the text is inscribed is labeled "STOICA" and "CONSTANTIA" on the edges of the two books which Philosophy holds under her arm. Above, the inscription PHILOSOPHIA, on the left of the aperture, a bust of Tacitus (inscription : C. CORNEL TACITVS) and, on the right of Seneca (inscription : L.ANNAEVS SENECA), two classical authors whose works were published by Lipsius. On the left of Tacitus, Prudentia and Mercurius ; on the right of Seneca, Minerva and Virtue (formerly the latter, wearing a helmet and a short sword, has been erroneously identified as Bellone or Constantia). In the center, under the arch, as a bas-relief, the she-wolf with Romulus and Remus ; these reveal Lipsius' interest in Roman antiquity. The frontispiece for which this drawing was made in reverse, was engraved by Cornelis Galle. Rubens received from Balthasar Moretus 20 fl. for the drawing. For the handwork by Cornelis Galle, and the copper, 90 fl. was paid to Jan Galle, on 11 December 1634.

Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum

168. Frontispiece for : *Justi Lipsii Opera omnia*. Antwerp, Officina Plantiniana, 1637.

In-folio.

Engraved by Cornelis Galle after the drawing by P. P. Rubens ; copperplate still in the Plantin-Moretus Museum.

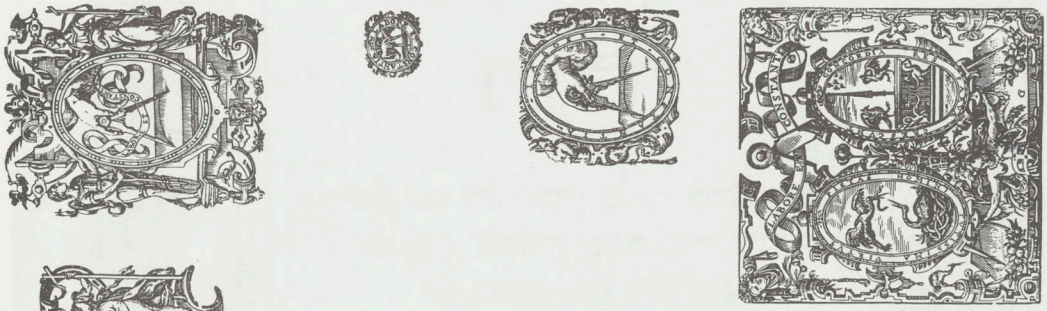
Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum

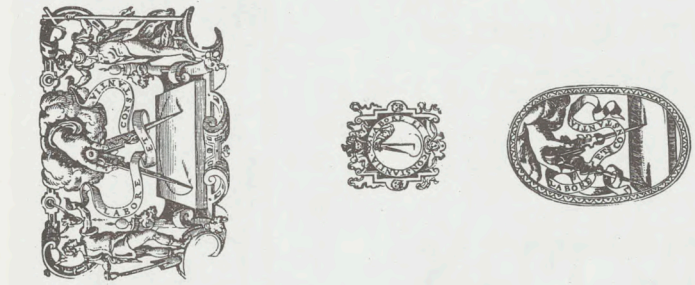
169. Frontispiece for : MATTHIEU DE MORGUES, *Diverses pieces pour la Defense de la Royne, Mère du Roy tres - chrestien Louys XIII.* Officina Plantiniana, 1637.

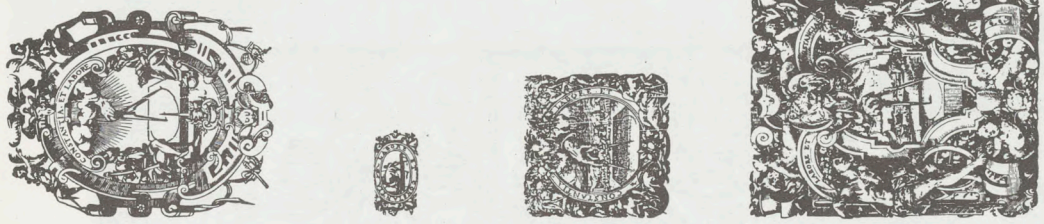
In-folio.

Drawing by Erasmus Quellin after the design by Rubens, engraved by Cornelis Galle. Drawing and copperplate are still preserved in the Plantin-Moretus Museum.
Apology of Maria de' Medici, mother of Louis XIII, King of France, at the time living in the Southern Netherlands in exile. Since this was potentially a dangerous pamphlet, which, though not directed against the King, might arouse the wrath of powerful French courtiers (including Cardinal Richelieu), the work appeared without the publisher's name and address and without the mention of Rubens', Quellin's, and Galle's contribution.

Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum







133 *Woodcut grotesque-initials*
135 *Woodcut printer's marks used by Plantin*

139 *Hebrew Bible*, Antwerp, Plantin, 1566, in-octavo

CAPVT PRIMVM.

1 בראשית ברא אלהים את השמים ואת
2 הארץ׃ והארץ היתה תהו ובהו וחשך
3 על־פני תהום ורוח אלהים מרחפת על
4 פני המים׃ ויאמר אלהים יהי אור
5 ויהי־אור׃ וירא אלהים את־האור כי־טוב ויבדל
6 אלהים בין האור ובין החשך׃ ויקרא אלהים לאור
7 יום ולחשך קרא לילה ויהי־ערב ויהי־בקר יום אחד׃
8 ויאמר אלהים יהי רקיע בתוך המים ויהי מבדיל
9 בין מים למים׃ ויעש אלהים את־הרקיע ויבדל בין
10 המים אשר מתחת לרקיע ובין המים אשר מעל לרקיע
11 ויהי־כן׃ ויקרא אלהים לרקיע שמים ויהי־ערב
12 ויהי־בקר יום שני׃ ויאמר אלהים יקוו המים
13 מתחת השמים אל־מקום אחד ותראה היבשה ויהי־
14 כן׃ ויקרא אלהים ליבשה ארץ ולמקוה המים קרא
15 ימים וירא אלהים כי־טוב׃ ויאמר אלהים תדשא
16 הארץ דשא עשב מזריע זרע עץ פרי עשה־פרי למינו
17 אשר זרעו בו על־הארץ ויהי־כן׃ ותוצא הארץ דשא
18 עשב מזריע זרע למינהו ועץ עשה־פרי אשר זרעו בו
19 למינהו וירא אלהים כי־טוב׃ ויהי־ערב ויהי־בקר
20 יום שלישי׃ ויאמר אלהים יהי מארת ברקיע
21 השמים להבדיל בין היום ובין הלילה והיו לאתת
22 ולמועדים ולימים ושנים׃ והיו למאורת ברקיע
23 השמים להאיר על־הארץ ויהי־כן׃ ויעש אלהים
24 את־שני המארת הגדלים את־המאור הגדל לממשלת
25 היום ואת המאור הקטן לממשלת הלילה ואת
26 הכוכבים׃ ויתן אתם אלהים ברקיע השמים להאיר
27 על־הארץ׃ ולמשל ביום ובלילה ולהבדיל בין האור
28 ובין החשך וירא אלהים כי־טוב׃ ויהי־ערב ויהי־
29 בקר יום רביעי׃ ויאמר אלהים ישרצו המים שרץ
30 נפש חיה ועוף יעופף על־הארץ על־פני רקיע השמים׃

1 IN principio creauit Deus cælum & terrã. 2 Terra autem
A erat inanis & vacua: & tenebræ erant super facié abyssi: Heb.11.a
& spiritus Dei ferebatur su- Psal.18.
pet aquas. 3 Dixitq; Deus, Fiat lux. Et facta est Heb.10.b
4 lux. 5 Et vidit Deus lucem quòd esset bona: &
diuisit lucem à tenebris. 6 Appellauitq; lucem
diem; & tenebras noctẽ. Factumq; est vespere
7 & mane dies vnus. 8 Dixit quoque Deus, Fiat
firmamentũ in medio aquarum; & diuidat a-
9 quas ab aquis. 10 Et fecit Deus firmamentum,
diuisitq; aquas quæ erant sub firmamento, ab
11 his quæ erant super firmamentũ. Et factum est
ita. 12 Vocauitq; Deus firmamentũ, cælum: &
13 factum est vespere, & mane dies secundus.
14 Dixit verò Deus, Congregentur aquæ quæ
sub cælo sunt, in locum vnum: & appareat ari-
15 da. Et factum est ita. 16 Et vocauit Deus aridã,
terram: congregationesq; aquarũ appellauit
17 maria. Et vidit Deus quòd esset bonum. 18 Et
B ait, Germinet terra herbã virentem & facien-
tem semen; & lignum pomiferũ faciens fructũ
19 iuxta genus suum, cuius semen in semetipso sit
20 super terram. Et factũ est ita. 21 Et protulit terra
herbam virentẽ, & facientẽ semen iuxta genus
suũ; lignumq; faciens fructũ, & habens vnum-
quodq; sementem secundũ speciem suam. Et
22 vidit Deus quòd esset bonum. 23 Et factum est
vespere & mane dies tertius. 24 Dixit autẽ Deus, Ps.135.
Fiant luminaria in firmamento cæli; & diui-
dant diem ac noctẽ; & sint in signa & tẽpora
25 & dies & annos: 26 Vt luceãt in firmamẽto cæli,
& illuminent terrã. Et factum est ita. 27 Fecitq;
Deus duo luminaria magna: luminare maius,
vt præesset diei: & luminare minus, vt præesset
28 nocti: & stellas. 29 Et posuit eas Deus in firma-
mẽto cæli, vt lucerẽt super terrã: 30 Et præessent
diei ac nocti, & diuiderent lucem ac tenebras.
31 Et vidit Deus quòd esset bonũ. 32 Et factum est
vespere, & mane dies quartus. 33 Dixit etiam
Deus, Producant aquæ reptile animæ viuentis,
& volatile super terram sub firmamento cæli.

תרגום אונקלוס

בקדמין

1 ברא ייי ית שמיא ית ארעא׃ 2 וארעא הות צריא וקלקלא ותשוכא על־אפי תהומא ורוחא דייי מנשבא על
3 אפי מיא׃ 4 ואמר ייי יהא נהורא והות נהורא׃ 5 וחזא ייי ית־נהורא ארי טב ואפרש ייי בין נהורא ובין
6 חשוכא׃ 7 וקרא ייי לנהורא יומא ולחשוכא קרא ליליא והות רמש והות צפר יומא חד׃ 8 ואמר ייי יהא רקיעא במצעיתה מיא
9 ויהא מפרש בין מיא למיא׃ 10 ועבד ייי ית רקיעא ואפרש בין מיא דתחות לרקיעא ובין מיא דעל־לעל לרקיעא והות כן׃ 11 וקרא ייי
12 לרקיעא שמיא והות רמש והות צפר יומא תניין׃ 13 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא מתחות שמיא לאתר חד ותתחזי יבשתא והות כן׃ 14 וקרא
ייי ליבשתא ארעא וליבית כנישתא מיא קרא ימין וחזא ייי ארי טב׃ 15 ואמר ייי תדיי ארעא דתאה עשבא דבר זרעה מזדרע אילן עבד פרין דבר
פרין לזנוהי דיהי זרעה בה על ארעא והות כן׃ 16 ואפקת ארעא דתאה עשבא דבר זרעה מזדרע לזנוהי ואילן עבד פרין דבר זרעה
בה לזנוהי וחזא ייי ארי טב׃ 17 והות רמש ותנין ותרין בקריעא דשמיא׃ 18 ואנהרין בין יומא
ובין ליליא ודיהון לאתתא לקיצין ולסגין לכהין ויסין ושנין׃ 19 ויהון לנהורין בקריעא דשמיא לאנהרא על ארעא׃ 20 ואנהר ייי
ית תרין נהורין רברבין ית נהורא רבא לשלטא ביומא וית נהורא זעירא לשלטא בליליא וית כוכבייא׃ 21 ויתן יתהון ייי בקריעא
דשמיא לאנהרא על ארעא׃ 22 ולשלטא ביומא ובליליא ולאפרשא בין נהורא ובין חשוכא וחזא ייי ארי טב׃ 23 והות רמש והות
אנפר יום רביעאי׃ 24 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 25 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 26 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 27 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 28 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 29 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 30 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 31 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 32 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 33 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 34 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 35 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 36 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 37 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 38 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 39 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 40 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 41 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 42 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 43 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 44 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 45 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 46 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 47 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 48 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 49 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 50 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 51 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 52 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 53 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 54 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 55 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 56 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 57 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 58 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 59 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 60 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 61 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 62 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 63 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 64 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 65 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 66 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 67 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 68 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 69 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 70 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 71 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 72 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 73 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 74 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 75 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 76 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 77 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 78 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 79 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 80 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 81 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 82 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 83 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 84 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 85 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 86 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 87 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 88 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 89 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 90 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 91 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 92 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 93 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 94 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 95 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 96 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 97 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 98 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 99 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃ 100 ואמר ייי יתכנשון מיא דתחות שמיא לתרין אתרין ותתחזי יבשתא׃

CAPVT PRIMVM.

1 ΕΝ ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν.
2 ἡ δὲ γῆ ἦν ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκευαστος· καὶ
σκότος ἐπάνω τῆς ἀβύσσου. καὶ πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἐπεφέ-
3 ρετο ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος. καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεός, γενηθήτω
4 φῶς· καὶ ἐγένετο φῶς. καὶ εἶδεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ φῶς, ὅτι
καλόν. καὶ διεχώρισεν ὁ θεὸς ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ
5 σκότους. καὶ ἐκάλεσεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ φῶς ἡμέραν, καὶ τὸ σκότος ἐκά-
λεσε νύκτα. καὶ ἐγένετο ἑσπέρα, καὶ ἐγένετο πρωΐ, ἡμέρα μία. καὶ εἶπε-
6 ν ὁ θεός, γενηθήτω στερέωμα ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ ὕδατος· καὶ ἔστω διαχωρίζον
7 ἀνὰ μέσον ὕδατος καὶ ὕδατος. καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ στερέωμα· καὶ διε-
χώρισεν ὁ θεὸς ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ ὕδατος ὃ ἦν ὑποκάτω τοῦ στερεώματος,
8 καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ ὕδατος, ὃ ἦν ἐπάνω τοῦ στερεώματος. καὶ ἐκάλεσεν ὁ
θεὸς τὸ στερέωμα οὐρανόν. καὶ εἶδεν ὁ θεὸς, ὅτι καλόν. καὶ ἐγένετο ἑσπέ-
9 ρα, καὶ ἐγένετο πρωΐ, ἡμέρα δευτέρα. καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς, συναχθήτω
τὸ ὕδατο τὸ ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν εἰς συναγωγὴν μίαν, καὶ ὀφθήτω ἡ
ξηρά. καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως· καὶ συνήχθη τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ὑποκάτω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ
10 εἰς τὰς συναγωγὰς αὐτῶν, καὶ ὤφθη ἡ ξηρά. καὶ ἐκάλεσεν ὁ θεὸς τὴν
ξηρὰν, γῆν· καὶ τὰ συστήματα τῶν ὑδάτων ἐκάλεσε θαλάσσας. καὶ
11 εἶδεν ὁ θεὸς, ὅτι καλόν. καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς, βλαστησάτω ἡ γῆ βοτάνην
χόρτου σπείρον σπέρμα κατὰ γένος· καὶ κατὰ ὁμοιότητα, καὶ ξύλον
καρπιμον ποιοῦν καρπὸν οὗ τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ κατὰ γένος·
12 καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως. καὶ ἐξηνέγκατο ἡ γῆ βοτάνην χόρτου
σπείρον σπέρμα κατὰ γένος· καὶ κατὰ ὁμοιότητα, καὶ ξύλον καρπι-
μον ποιοῦν καρπὸν οὗ τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ κατὰ γένος· καὶ
13 εἶδεν ὁ θεὸς, ὅτι καλόν. καὶ ἐγένετο ἑσπέρα καὶ ἐγένετο
πρωΐ, ἡμέρα τρίτη. καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς, γενηθήτωσαν φωστῆρες ἐν τῷ
στερεώματι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἰς τὸ φαίνειν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ διαχωρίζειν
14 ἀνὰ μέσον τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τῆς νυκτὸς· καὶ ἔστωσαν εἰς σημεῖα,
15 καὶ εἰς καιροὺς, καὶ εἰς ἡμέρας, καὶ εἰς ἐνιαυτούς· καὶ ἔστωσαν εἰς
φαυσιν ἐν τῷ στερεώματι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ὥστε φαίνειν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. καὶ
16 ἐγένετο οὕτως. καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τοὺς δύο φωστῆρας τοὺς μεγάλους,
τὸν φωστῆρα τὸν μέγαν εἰς ἀρχὰς τῆς ἡμέρας· καὶ τὸν φωστῆρα τὸν μι-
κρὸν εἰς ἀρχὰς τῆς νυκτὸς· καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας· καὶ ἔθετο αὐτοὺς ὁ
17 θεὸς ἐν τῷ στερεώματι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ· ὥστε φαίνειν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ
18 ἄρχειν τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς· καὶ διαχωρίζειν ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ φω-
τὸς καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ σκότους· καὶ εἶδεν ὁ θεὸς ὅτι καλόν. καὶ ἐγέ-
19 νετο ἑσπέρα, καὶ ἐγένετο πρωΐ, ἡμέρα τετάρτη. καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς, ἐξα-
γαγέτω τὰ ὕδατα ἑρπετὰ ψυχῶν ζωσῶν, καὶ πετεινὰ πετόμενα
ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, κατὰ τὸ στερέωμα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ· καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως.

CHALDAICÆ PARAPHRASIS TRANSLATIO.

CAPVT PRIMVM.

IN principio creauit Deus cælum & terram. 1 Terra autem erat deserta & vacua; & tenebræ super faciem abyssi: & spiritus Dei insufflabat super faciem aquarum. 2 Et dixit Deus, Sit lux: & fuit lux. 3 Et vidit Deus lucem quòd esset bona. Et diuisit Deus inter lucem & inter tenebras. 4 Appellauitque Deus lucem diem, & tenebras vocauit noctem. Et fuit vespere & fuit mane dies vnus. 5 Et dixit Deus, Sit firmamentum in medio aquarum: & diuidat inter aquas & aquas. 6 Et fecit Deus firmamentum: & diuisit inter aquas quæ erant sub ter firmamentum: & inter aquas quæ erant super firmamentum: & fuit ita. 7 Et vocauit Deus firmamentum cælum. Et fuit vespere & fuit mane, dies secundus. 8 Et dixit Deus, Congregentur aquæ quæ sub cælo sunt; in locum vnum: & appareat arida. Et fuit ita. 9 Et vocauit Deus aridam terram: & locum congregationis aquarum appellauit maria. Et vidit Deus quòd esset bonum. 10 Et dixit Deus, Germinet terra germinationem herbæ, cuius silius sementis seminatur: arboremque fructiferam facientem fructus secundum genus suum; cuius silius sementis in ipso sit super terram. Et fuit ita. 11 Et produxit terra germen herbæ, cuius silius sementis seminatur secundum genus suum; & arboremi facientem fructus, cuius silius sementis in ipso secundum genus suum. Et vidit Deus quòd esset bonum. 12 Et fuit vespere & fuit mane, dies tertius. 13 Et dixit Deus, Sint luminaria in firmamento cæli, vt diuidant inter diem & noctem: & sint in signa & in tempora: & vt numerentur per ea dies & anni. 14 Et fecit Deus duo luminaria magna: luminare maius, vt dominaretur in die: & luminare minus, vt dominaretur in nocte: & stellas. 15 Et posuit eas Deus in firmamẽto cæli ad illuminandum super terram: 16 Et vt dominarentur in die & in nocte: & vt diuiderent inter lucẽ & tenebras. & vidit Deus quòd esset bonũ. 17 Et fuit vespere & fuit mane, dies quartus. 18 Et dixit Deus, Serpant aquæ reptile animæ viuẽtis: & auem quæ volat super terrã sup. r facié aëris firmamenti cælorum.

lege SAXIFRAGIA *aurea Lichenis facie & natalitijs. Erysimi species Aldrouandi. Aduers. pag. 267.*

HVMILIS HEDERA *siue* CHAMÆCISSVS. *Corona terræ. Terrestris hedera. Germ.* Gundel reb. *Belg.* Onderhaue. *Gall.* Liere terrestre. *Aduers. pag. 268.* *

Chamęclema Cordi, quasi dicas humilis Clematis repens. Clemen autem teutonicè, est repero scanderéue.

Corymbosa HEDERA.

lege fabulantur. *lin.* 14.

* DIOSC. *Gustu supra modum amara. Bibunt conuenienti ß nè ischiadici folia, tribus obolis in aquæ cyathis tribus, tri enis quadrageníſue diebus. eodem pota modo, senis aut septenis diebus, regium morbum purgant.*

Gal. Chamæcissi flos cùm sit admodum amarus, iecur obstructione liberat: daturque ex coxedice laborantibus.

CHAMAELEVCE. *Aduers. pag. 268.*
Caltha palustris Gesneri.
DIOSC. *Lumborum doloribus propitia est.*

Corymbosa

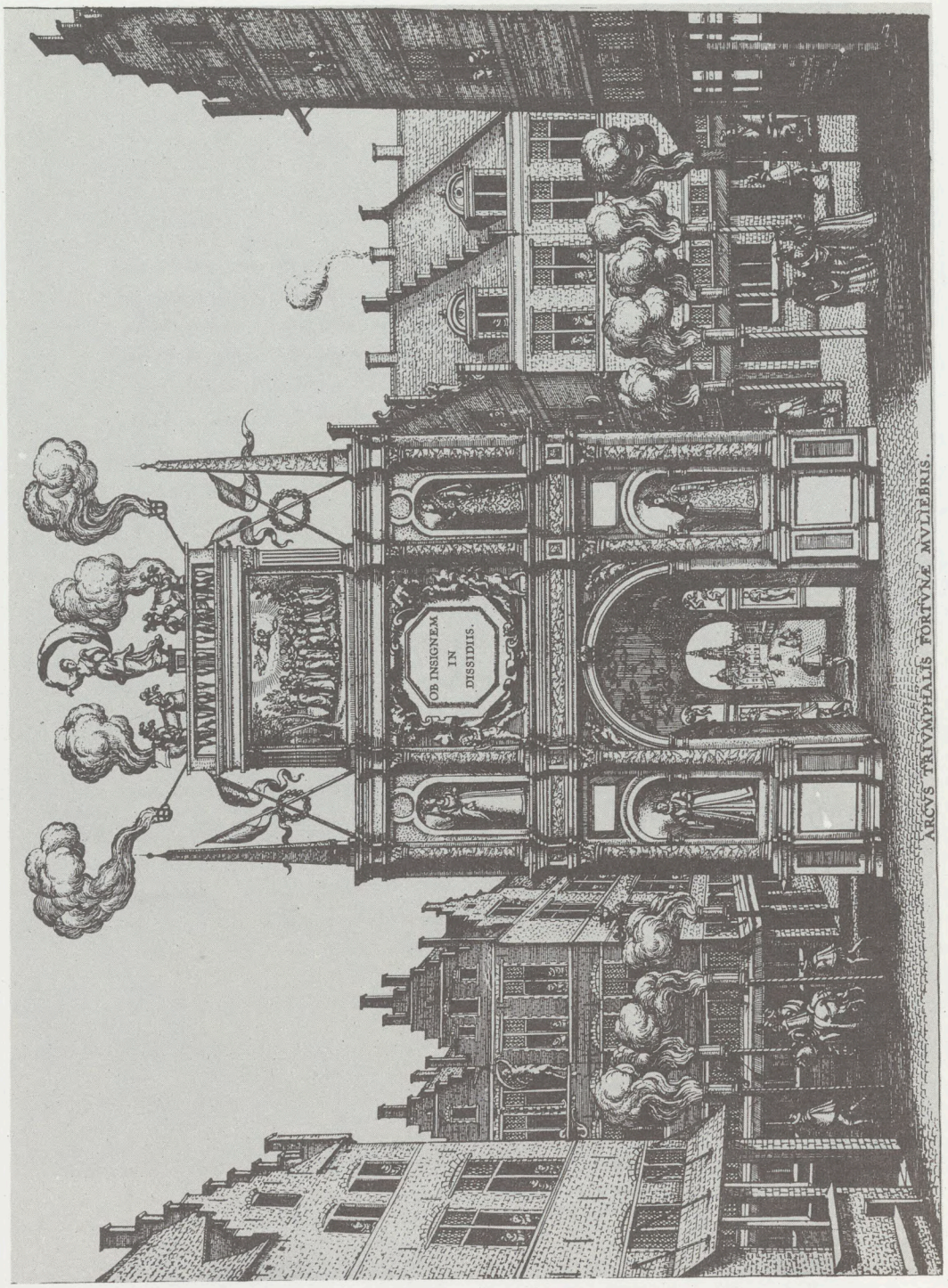
144 Mathias Lobelius, *Plantarum seu stirpium historia*, Antwerp, Plantin, 1576

AD LECTOREM.

Habes lector quę de Cruce scripsimus, sed germana. Antea atque alibi quę edita (credes hoc nobis) non sunt nostra. Quid ergo? non illa dictauimus? Fortasse. sed, ô imperitiam! quasi edendi illi fine. Reuerentior posteritatis sim: et aliud scio esse Schedia, aliud Opera; nec subitaria hęc nostra dedicanda in Memorię templo. Quid, quod alij grauiùs etiam peccant? qui excipiunt aut intercipiunt dicta aut oratiunculas nostras, et in contumeliam mei diuulgant. Aliter non accipio. Æuum hoc vt multis delictis fibulam, ita petulantię et licentię laxat: et quod auet procacissimus quisque, id etiam audet. Ego semel et serio testor, audite qui in Europâ. NIHIL MEVM EST, AVT ERIT, QVOD NON DE AVTOGRAPHO MEO, ET ME VOLENTE, SIT EXPRESSVM. Quicunque aliter, mihi iniuriam facit, vobis fucum. Deus bone, hęc monenda publicè esse? Ecce in bona opesque externas ius est non viuo mihi solùm sed mortuo, et solatium fati est voluntas vltra fatum: ~~[illegible]~~ animi et ingenij verè bonis non idem erit. Reprimite Principes qui potestis, ~~[illegible]~~ vos lectores quâ potestis: illi puniendo, vos spernendo. Ego pręter testari, nihil habeo. et hoc etiam addo, Siquid vsquam pręter religionem moresque veterum, non agnosco: et tibi adhęreo Statu felix ~~[illegible]~~ Ecclesia, cui ~~[illegible]~~ totam doctrinam Apostoli ~~[illegible]~~ Petrus et Paulus cum sanguine suo profuderunt. Hęc ex animo scripta, vt in animum demittas te, per spes tuas et per quidquid carum est, Lector, rogo. ~~[illegible]~~

Hoc de Romanâ Tertull. praescript. adu. Sauret. cap. XXXVI.

151 Justus Lipsius, *"Ad lectorem"* for the edition of *De cruce libri tres*, Antwerp, Officina Plantiniana, 1593



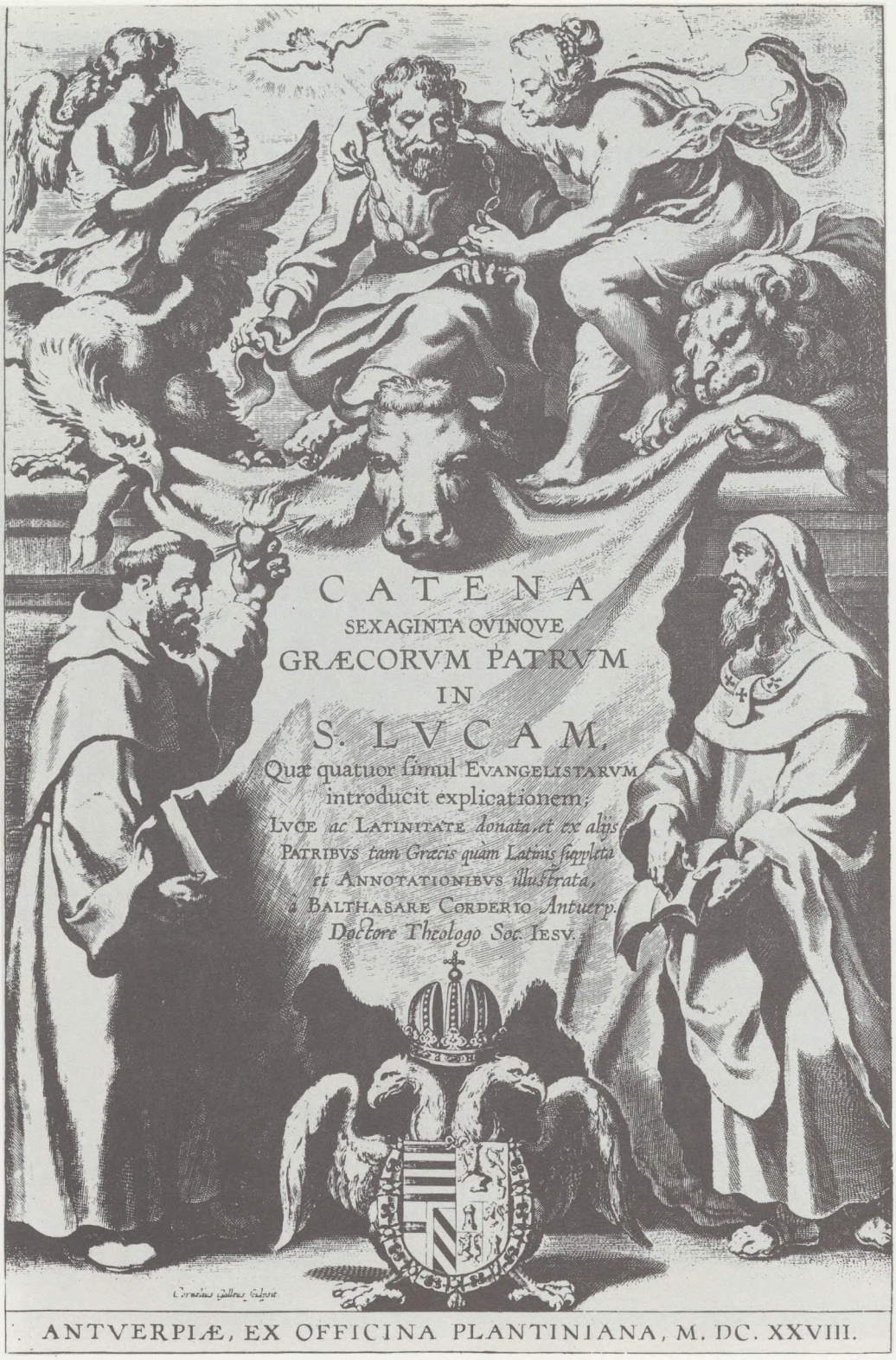
155 Peter van der Borcht, *A triumphal arch in Antwerp*, from the description of the Entry of the Archdukes Albert and Isabella in the city, Antwerp, Officina Plantiniana, 1602

CLIV.

VT SOL IN SVMMO FASTIGIO TARDISSIME MOVETVR, NEC ALIVS INOPI QVAM LOCVPLETI SPLENDET; ITA PRINCIPES IN SVMMVM IMPERII FASTIGIVM EVECTOS, NON PRÆCIPITARE CONSILIA, SED CIRCVMSPECTE AGERE, ET LVCEM IVSTITIÆ AC CLEMENTIÆ SVÆ SVMMIS AC INFIMIS PARITER PRÆBERE DECET.

Vbi XXXVIII. annis Imperio ſummâ cum laude præfuiſſet, ætatis ſuæ anno LVIII. in Hiſpaniis obiit.

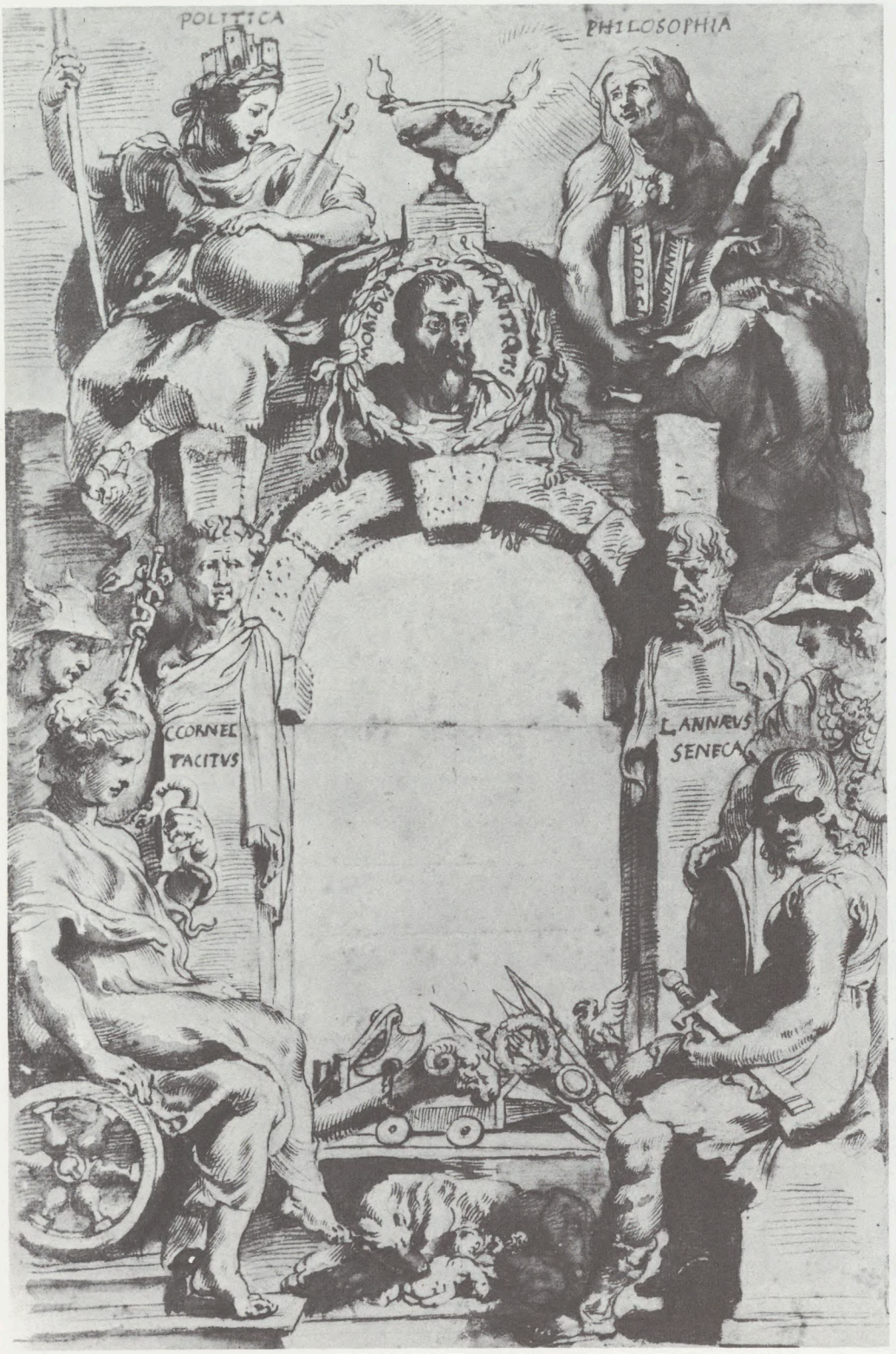
157 Hubertus Goltzius, *Icones Imperatorum Romanorum*, Antwerp, Officina Plantiniana, 1645



165 Balthasar Corderius, *Catena sexaginta quinque Graecorum patrum in S. Lucam*, Antwerp, Officina Plantiniana, 1628 : frontispiece after the design by Peter Paul Rubens

ANTVERPIÆ, EX OFFICINA PLANTINIANA BALTHASARIS MORETI. M.DC.XXXII.
CVM PRIVILEGIIS CÆSAREO ET DVORVM REGVM.

166 Ludovicus Blosius, *Opera*, Antwerp, Officina Plantiniana, 1632 : frontispiece after the design by Peter Paul Rubens



167 Peter Paul Rubens, Drawing for the frontispiece of *Justi Lipsi Opera Omnia*, Antwerp, Officina Plantiniana, 1637

X. THE BOOKBINDING

In the Late Middle Ages bookbinding in Western Europe was largely confined to book-covers ornamented with "blind-tooled" designs. In the 15th century "panels"—which may be compared to large seals—were pressed in the leather, a technique that spread quickly, and became popular throughout Western Europe, but found its most dedicated admirers in the Netherlands. Many scholars assume that blind-tooled-bookbinding must have originated there. In fact, the earliest known example of such binding, executed in Antwerp (about 1240 by the amateur-bookbinder, Wouter van Duffel, canon of the Church of the Holy Lady) now belongs to the collections of the Plantin-Moretus Museum.

Bookbinding in Antwerp, however, became important only after the city attained an international book-market. With the increase of printers and publishers there appeared a rising number of bookbinders. Accordingly, as in many other crafts, Antwerp became the foremost bookbinding center of the Low Countries in the 16th century. During the first half of the century the blind-tooled panel, executed in solid leather-bookcovers, remained the speciality of Antwerp bookbinders. The style gradually changed : as in other Antwerp art-work, Gothic decorations and concepts gave away to Renaissance influences. Foreign craftsmen, too, were attracted by the new Metropolis of the West. Plantin, himself, was a bookbinder before he became the greatest typographer of his time. Another important bookbinder was Antonio di Martino Borini, a Florentine working in Antwerp from 1550 until 1563. These foreign artists introduced a new technique : the gilt-leather bookcover, which about the middle of the century replaced the old blind-stamped panel binding.

The mosaic gilt-leather binding, so typical of Renaissance-France, never became popular in Antwerp. Antwerp craftsmen were more inspired by Italian models (or by French examples imitating the Italian styles). Typical of Antwerp gilt-leather work in the 16th and the 17th centuries is the extensive use of panels (as center-pieces or in the corners). Thus, the old tradition of Netherland blind-stamped panel-bookbinding was fused with the new technique in Antwerp. But with an important change : blind-tooled panels generally presented a scene, pictorially, while in Antwerp, gilt-leather panels were merely decorative elements.

LEON VOET

170. Panel-stamped binding in brown calf-leather. Late Gothic style ; possibly the work of the Antwerp publisher and bookbinder Godefridus Dumaeus (Godevaert van der Hagen).

16.5 x 10 cm.

On the front-side two larger panels (7.6 x 4.75 cm. and 7.6 x 5.2 cm.) with decorative motifs (in the panel above, the inscription "ora pro nobis sancta dei genitrix"), and divided by a smaller one (1.7 x 7.5 cm.) showing three men and a woman dancing to the tune of a bagpiper. On the rear-side, the same larger panels but the smaller one between them shows a dragon, Saint Margaret arising from a dragon, and a griffin. The book is an Antwerp edition printed by Marten de Keyser for Godefridus Dumaeus, publisher and bookbinder, 1530.

Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum

171. Panel-stamped binding in brown calf-leather showing medallions of a man and a woman in typical Renaissance frame.

24 x 15.5 cm. (panel 11 x 15.5 cm.).

The book is an Antwerp edition of Joannes Steelsius, 1540.

Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum

172. Panel-stamped binding in brown calf-leather with the portrait of Emperor Charles V, underneath the monogram of the Antwerp bookbinder Claus van Dormaele.

15.5 x 10 cm. (panel : 14.1 x 8.5 cm.).

Typical Renaissance-style. The Latin inscription around the portrait identifies the Emperor as he appeared in his 42nd year. Consequently, the panel must have been executed in 1542. The book is an edition of Oporinus, Basle, 1543.

Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum

173. Panel-stamped binding in brown calf-leather with double-headed and crowned imperial eagle in Renaissance frame.

14.5 x 9.5 cm. (panel : 12.1 x 7.2 cm.).

Typical Antwerp motif. The book is a Frankfurt edition of 1543.

Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum

174. Gilt-leather bookbinding in brown calf-leather ; a central medallion, a triangular piece in each corner and a field of small fleurons (in this case stars).

23 x 16 cm.

172 Claus van Dormaele, *Panel stamped binding with the portrait of Emperor Charles V*, 1543

174 Gilt-leather bookbinding, 1570

A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. GENERAL STUDIES

Countless contributions have already been made to Antwerp's Golden Age. These are listed, up to 1938, in A. VAN LAAR'S *Bibliographie van de geschiedenis van de stad Antwerpen,* Brussels - Antwerp, Standaard - Boekhandel, 2 vols, 1927- [1938].

Important contributions to the history of Antwerp, available only in Dutch, were written by F. PRIMS. In his 29 volumes *Geschiedenis van Antwerpen* (History of Antwerp), Brussels - Antwerp, Standaard - Boekhandel, 1927-1948, volumes 16-22 (1938-1946) concern the 16th and 17th centuries. In the series *Antwerpiensia, Losse bijdragen tot de Antwerpsche geschiedenis* (Antwerp, De Vlijt, 23 volumes, 1928-1947) Prims studied many specific problems.

An earlier, but still valuable discussion of Antwerp's Golden Age may be found in P. GÉNARD, *Anvers à travers les âges*, Brussels, Bruylant - Christophe & Cie, 2 vols, [1886-92]. A general survey of 16th century Antwerp is published in J. WEGG, *Antwerp, 1477-1559. From the battle of Nancy to the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis*, London, Methuen & Co, 1916 ; and in his *The decline of Antwerp under Philip of Spain*, London, Methuen & Co, 1924. A shorter account, up to date and interesting is published in J. J. MURRAY, *Antwerp in the age of Plantin and Brueghel,* Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1970. A more elaborate and richly illustrated study is that of L. VOET, *The Golden Age of Antwerp*, Antwerp, Mercatorfonds, 1973.

Iconographical material is inventoried and partly reproduced in A. J. J. DELEN *Iconographie van Antwerpen,* Brussels, L.J. Kryn, 1930, and A. H. CORNETTE, *Iconographie van Antwerpen,* Antwerp, De Sikkel, 1933.

Many valuable archive sources (generally with comment) have been published by the City Archives in *Antwerpsch Archievenblad*, first series, 30 volumes, 1864-99 ; second series, 9 volumes, 1926-1934.

II. ANTWERP'S ECONOMIC LIFE

The following have been selected from hundreds of studies :

H. VAN DER WEE, *The growth of the Antwerp market and the European economy (fourteenth - sixteenth centuries)*, The Hague, M. Nijhoff, 3 vols, 1963, a fundamental study with a useful bibliography.

W. BRULEZ, "Le commerce international des Pays-Bas au XVIe siècle : essai d'appréciation quantitative, " in *Revue belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, 46, 1968.
W. BRULEZ, "The balance of trade of the Netherlands in the middle of the 16th century, " in *Acta Historiae Neerlandica*, 4, 1970.
F. EDLER, "The market for spices in Antwerp, 1538-1544," in *Revue belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, 17, 1938.
J. A. GORIS, *Etudes sur les colonies marchandes méridionales à Anvers (1477-1567)*, Louvain, Librairie universitaire Uystpruyst, 1925.
E. COORNAERT, *Les Français et le commerce international à Anvers (fin XVme et XVIme siècles)*, Paris, M. Rivière & Co, 2 vols, 1961.
F. DONNET, *Coup d'œil sur l'histoire financière d'Anvers au cours des siècles*, Anvers, J.E. Buschmann, 1927.
R. DE ROOVER, "Anvers comme marché monétaire au XVIme siècle," in *Revue belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, 31, 1953.
H. VAN DER WEE, "A Anvers : les innovateurs de la technique financière aux XVIe-XVIIe siècles," in *Annales. Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 22, 1967.

III. ARTISTIC LIFE

GENERAL

For a preliminary orientation :

G. VON DER OSTEN & H. VEY, *Painting and sculpture in Germany and the Netherlands, 1500 to 1600*, Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1969.
H. GERSON & E. H. TER KUILE, *Art and architecture in Belgium 1600 to 1800*, London, Penguin Books, 1960.

Catalogues of exhibitions are sometimes of great value :

Anvers, ville de Plantin et de Rubens. Catalogue de l'exposition organisée à la Galerie Mazarine, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, 1954.
Antwerpens Gouden Eeuw. Kunst en kultuur ten tijde van Plantin, Antwerp, 1955.
Scaldis, Antwerp, 1956.
Le siècle de Bruegel, Brussels, 1963.
Le siècle de Rubens, Brussels, 1965.

As pointed out in the text of this catalogue, the ledgers of the Antwerp Art-Guild of Saint-Lucas are a unique source for 16th and 17th Antwerp art history :

T. ROMBOUTS & T. VAN LERIUS, *De Liggeren en andere historische archieven der Antwerpsche Sint-Lucasgilde*, Antwerp - The Hague, F. Baggerman - M. Nijhoff, 2 vols, 1872.

Invaluable information on Flemish art in general and Antwerp art in particular may be found in J. DENUCÉ, *Bronnen van de geschiedenis van de Vlaamsche kunst*, Antwerp, De Sikkel, 5 vols, 1931-1949.

The so-called Floris-style grotesque was a specific Antwerp contribution to Renaissance-ornamentation :
S. SCHELE, *Cornelis Bos. A study of the origins of the Netherland grotesque*, Stockholm, Almqvist & Wiksell, 1965.

16th CENTURY PAINTING

General surveys :
L. VAN PUYVELDE, *La peinture flamande au siècle de Bosch et Breughel*, Paris, Elsevier, 1962.
G. FAGGIN, *La pittura ad Anversa nel cinquecento*, Firenze, Marchi & Bertolli, 1968.

General survey on landscape-painting :
H. G. FRANZ, *Niederländische Landschaftsmalerei im Zeitalter des Manierismus*, Graz, Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1969.

Individual artists :
F. GROSSMANN, *Bruegel. The Paintings*, London, Phaidon Press, 1955.
L. MÜNZ, *Bruegel's Drawings*, London, Phaidon Press, 1961.
B. CLAESSENS & J. ROUSSEAU, *Our Bruegel*. Antwerp, Mercator-fonds, 1969.
R. H. MARIJNISSEN, *Bruegel le Vieux*, Brussels, Arcade, 1969.
A. MAYER, *Das Leben und die Werke der Brüder Matthäus and Paul Bril*, Leipzig, K.W. Hiersemann Verlag, 1910.
G. MARLIER, *La Renaissance flamande. Pierre Coecke d'Alost*, Brussels, Ed. R. Finck, 1966.
D. ZUNTZ, *Frans Floris*, Strasbourg, Heitz, 1929.
Th. A. G. WILBERGH VIGNEAU-SCHUURMAN, *Die emblematischen Elemente im Werke Joris Hoefnagels*, Leiden, Universitaire Pers, 1969.
G. MARLIER, *Anthonis Mor van Dashorst*, Brussels, Handelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamsche Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, 1934.

M. ROOSES, *L'Oeuvre de Rubens*, Antwerp, J. Maes, 5 vols, 1886-1892.
M. ROOSES, *Rubens*, Antwerp, Nederlandsche Boekhandel, 1904.
R. OLDENBOURG, *P.P. Rubens. Des Meisters Gemälde* (Klassiker der Kunst, V), Berlin - Stuttgart - Leipzig, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, [1921].
G. GLÜCK, *Rubens, Van Dyck und ihr Kreis*, Vienna, A. Schroll & Co, 1933.
H. G. EVERS, *Peter Paul Rubens*, München, F. Bruckmann, 1942.
H. G. EVERS, *Rubens und sein Werk. Neue Forschungen*, Brussels, De Lage Landen, 1943.
J. A. GORIS & J. S. HELD, *Rubens in America*, Antwerp, De Standaard - Boekhandel, 1947.
J. S. HELD, *Rubens, Selected Drawings, with introduction and critical catalogue*, London, Phaidon Press, 1959.
L. BURCHARD & R. A. D'HULST, *Rubens Drawings*, Brussels, Arcade, 1963.
C. V. WEDGWOOD and the Editors of Time-Life Books, *The World of Rubens*, New York, Time Inc., 1967.
W. STECHOW, *Rubens and the Classical tradition*, Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard University Press, 1968.
C. WHITE, *Rubens and his World*, London, Thames & Hudson, 1968.
Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, Brussels, Arcade, 1968- (4 vols published).
F. BAUDOUIN, *Rubens et son siècle*, Antwerp, Mercatorfonds, 1972.
JOHN RUPERT MARTIN, editor, *Rubens before 1620*, Princeton (N.J.), Princeton University Press, 1972.
G. GLÜCK, *Van Dyck. Des Meisters Gemälde (Klassiker der Kunst)*, Stuttgart - Berlin, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1931.
H. VEY, *Die Zeichnungen Anton Van Dycks*, Brussels, Arcade, 1962.
M. ROOSES, *Jacob Jordaens. Sa vie et ses œuvres*, Paris, Flammarion, 1906.
R. A. D'HULST, *De tekeningen van Jacob Jordaens*, Brussels, Handelingen der Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, 1956.
G. WINKELMANN-RHEIN, *Blumen-Brueghel* [Jan Brueghel the Elder], Cologne, Du Mont-Schauberg, 1968.
G. MARLIER, *Pierre Brueghel le Jeune*, Brussels, Finck, 1969.
G. KNUTTEL, *Adriaen Brouwer*, The Hague, L. Boucher, 1962.
H. VLIEGHE, *Gaspar de Crayer*, Brussels, Arcade, 1972.
T. H. FOKKER, *Jan Siberechts*, Paris, Librairie nationale d'Art et d'Histoire, 1931.

E. GREINDL, *Cornelis de Vos*, Brussels, Edition de la Librairie encyclopédique, 1944.

For surveys of different specialities in painting:
Comte D'ARSCHOT, *Le portrait aux XVIe et XVIIe siècle*, Brussels, Editions du Cercle d'Art, 1945.
Y. THIÉRY, *Le paysage flamand au XVIIe siècle*, Brussels, Elsevier, 1953.
E. GREINDL, *Les peintres flamands de nature morte au XVIIe siècle*, Brussels, Elsevier, 1956.
S. SPETH-HOLTERHOFF, *Les peintres flamands de Cabinets d'Amateur*, Brussels, Elsevier, 1957.
F. C. LEGRAND, *Les peintres flamands de genre au XVIIe siècle*, Brussels, Meddens, 1963.
M. L. HAIRS, *Les peintres flamands de fleurs au XVIIe siècle*, 2nd edition, Brussels, Elsevier, 1965.

SCULPTURE

J. DE BOSSCHERE, *La sculpture anversoise aux XVe et XVIe siècles*, Brussels, G. van Oest & Cie, 1909.
J. DUVERGER & M. J. ONGHENA, "De Zuidnederlandse Beeldhouwkunst gedurende de 16de eeuw," in *Kunstgeschiedenis der Nederlanden*, I, Antwerp, De Standaard - Boekhandel, 1954.
AD. JANSEN, "De Beeldhouwkunst in de 17de en in de 18de eeuw," in *Kunstgeschiedenis der Nederlanden*, III, Antwerp, De Standaard - Boekhandel, 1956 (with bibliography).
M. CASTEELS, *De beeldhouwers De Nole te Kamerijk, te Utrecht en te Antwerpen*, Brussels, Handelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, 1961.
CH. L. KUHN, *German and Netherlandish Sculpture*, Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard University Press, 1965.
J. DE BORCHGRAVE D'ALTENA, *Les madones anciennes conservées en Belgique*, Brussels, Editions du Cercle d' Art, 1943.
J. DE BORCHGRAVE D'ALTENA, "Notes sur les sculptures brabançonnes en pierre," in *Bulletin des Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire*, 10, 1938.
J. DE BORCHGRAVE D'ALTENA, *Les retables brabançons*, Brussels, Imprimerie Lesigne, 1946.
R. HEDICKE, *Cornelis Floris und die Floris-dekoration*, Berlin, J. Bard, 1913.
J. DUVERGER & M. J. ONGHENA, "Beeldhouwer Willem van de Broeck alias Guilielmus Paludanus," in *Gentsche Bijdragen*, 5, 1938.

BR. LIBERTUS, *Lucas Faydherbe, beeldhouwer en bouwmeester*, Antwerp, De Sikkel, 1938.
L. SMOLDEREN, *La statue du duc d'Albe à Anvers par Jacques Jonghelinck* (1571), Brussels, Académie royale de Belgique, Mémoires de la Classe des Beaux-Arts, Collection in-8°, 2me série, 14, fasc. 1, 1972.
I. LEYSSENS, "Hans van Mildert (158?-1638). Levensbeschrijving," in *Gentsche Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis*, 7, 1941.

MEDALS

General :

J. BABELON, *La médaille et les médailleurs*, Paris, Payot, 1927.

Fundamental studies for the Netherlands :

G. VAN LOON, *Histoire métallique des XVII provinces des Pays-Bas*, I, The Hague, 1732.
A. PINCHART, *Histoire de la gravure des médailles en Belgique depuis le XVIe siècle jusqu'en 1794*, Brussels, F. Hayez, 1870.
J. SIMONIS, *L'art du médailleur en Belgique ; contributions à l'étude de son histoire depuis l'avènement de Charles le Téméraire au duché de Bourgogne jusqu'au milieu du XVIe siècle*, Brussels, J. Dupriez, 1900.
J. SIMONIS, *L'art du médailleur en Belgique ; nouvelles contributions à l'étude de son histoire (seconde moitié du XVIe siècle)*, Brussels, J. Dupriez, 1904.

An interesting catalogue :

Médailles des anciens Pays-Bas, contribution numismatique à l'histoire du protestantisme, Paris, 1956.

Monographs of special interest :

V. TOURNEUR, "Quentin Metsys, médailleur," in *Revue belge de Numismatique*, 1920.
V. TOURNEUR, *Le médailleur anversois Steven van Herwyck*, Brussels, Edition médicale et scientifique, 1921.
V. TOURNEUR, "Jan Symons, médailleur anversois, milieu du XVIe siècle," in *Revue belge de Numismatique*, 77, 1925.
V. TOURNEUR, "Conrad Bloc, médailleur anversois," in *Revue belge de Numismatique*, 77, 1925.

GRAPHIC ART

Basic studies :

A. J. J. DELEN, *Histoire de la gravure dans les anciens Pays-Bas et dans les*

provinces belges des origines jusqu'à la fin du XVIIIe siècle. II. Le XVIe siècle, 1. Les graveurs illustrateurs, 2. Les graveurs d'estampes, Paris, Les Editions d'Art et d'Histoire, 1934-35.
F. H. W. HOLLSTEIN, *Dutch and Flemish etchings, engravings and woodcuts, c. 1450-1700*, Amsterdam, M. Hertzberger, 1949- (17 volumes published).

Book-illustration :
M. FUNCK, *Le livre belge à gravures*, Brussels, G. van Oest, 1925.

Woodcuts :
W. NIJHOFF, *Nederlandsche houtsnede 1500-1550. Reproducties van oude Noord- en Zuid-Nederlandsche houtsneden op losse bladen*, The Hague, M. Nijhoff, 2 vols, 1933-39.

Interesting special studies
L« DE PAUW-DE VEEN, *Jérôme Cock, éditeur d'estampes et graveur, 1507-1570*. Catalogue of an exhibition in the Royal Library, Brussels, 1970.
R. VAN BASTELAER, *Les estampes de Peter Bruegel l'Ancien*, Brussels, Librairie nationale d'Art et d'Histoire, 1908.
L. LEBEER, *Catalogue raisonné des estampes d'après Pierre Bruegel l'ancien*. Catalogue of an exhibition in the Royal Library, Brussels, 1969.
L. ALVIN, *Catalogue raisonné de l'œuvre des trois frères Wiericx*, Brussels, T. Arnold, 1866.
C. G. VOORHELM-SCHNEEVOOGT, *Catalogue des estampes gravées d'après Rubens*, Haarlem, Héritiers Loosjes, 1873.
M. ROOSES, *Titres et portraits gravés d'après P.P. Rubens pour l'imprimerie plantinienne*, Antwerp, Imprimerie plantinienne, 1877.
F. VAN DEN WIJNGAERT, *Inventaris der Rubeniaansche prentkunst*, Antwerp, De Sikkel, 1940.

OTHER ASPECTS OF ANTWERP ARTS

ARCHITECTURE

S. LEURS, *Geschiedenis van de bouwkunst in Vlaanderen van de 10e tot het einde der 18e eeuw*, Antwerp, De Standaard - Boekhandel, 1946.
J. PLANTENGA, *L'architecture religieuse dans l'ancien duché de Brabant, 1598-1713*, The Hague, M. Nijhoff, 1926.
M. THIBAUT DE MAISIÈRES, *L'architecture religieuse à l'époque de Rubens*, Brussels, Oeuvre nationale de Secours, 1943.

Architectural decorations at the entries of princes and governors in the Southern Netherlands :
I. VON ROEDER-BAUMBACH, *Versieringen bij blijde inkomsten gebruikt in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden gedurende de 16e en 17e eeuw*, Antwerp, De Sikkel, 1943.

FURNITURE

V. CHAMPIER, *Le mobilier flamand*, Paris, Ch. Massin, 1949.
L. LE BLANC, *Meubles flamands du XIVe au XVIIIe siècles*, Paris, Leplanquais, s.d.
R. LEMAIRE, *Beknopte geschiedenis van de meubelkunst*, Antwerp, De Sikkel, 1947.
W. VAN DER PLUYM, *Vijf eeuwen binnenhuis en meubels in Nederland*, Amsterdam, A. De Lange, 1954.
J. VAN HERCK, *Il Mobile Fiammingo*, Milano, Görlich editore, 1972.

NUMISMATICS

H. ENNO VAN GELDER & M. HOC, *Les monnaies des Pays-Bas bourguignons et espagnols, 1434-1713*, Amsterdam, J. Schulman, 1960.
A. DELMONTE, *Le Bénélux d'Or/ De gouden Benelux/ Répertoire du monnayage d'or des territoires composant les anciennes Pays-Bas/ Repertorium van de gouden munten geslagen in het gebied van de voormalige Nederlanden*, Amsterdam, J. Schulman, 1964.
A. DELMONTE, *Le Bénélux d'argent, écus- demi écus- quart d'écus et monnaies obsidionales frappés dans les territoires composant les anciens Pays-Bas septentrionaux et méridionaux/ De zilveren Benelux, hele-halve-kwart daalders en noodmunten geslagen in het gebied van de voormalige noordelijke en zuidelijke Nederlanden/ The silver Benelux, crowns- half crowns- quarter crowns and siege coins struck in the territories of the former Northern and Southern Netherlands*, Amsterdam, J. Schulman, 1967.

CERAMICS

J. HELBIG, "Wat weten wij over de Belgische ceramiek, het gebruiks- en sier-aardewerk uit ons land?" in *Ons Heem*, 10, 1952 (with interesting bibliography).
L. PHILIPPEN, *De Oud-Antwerpsche majolica*, Brussels, Uitgave Nébé, 1938.
M. LAURENT, "Guido di Savino and the Earthenware of Antwerp," in *Burlington Magazine*, 41, 1922.
DINGEMAN KORF-H. J. HIJMERSMA, "Antwerpse plateel," in

Mededelingenblad. Vrienden van de nederlandse ceramiek, 62 - 63, 1971 (with complete status quaestionis and bibliography on the subject).

GLASS

R. CHAMBON, *L'histoire de la verrerie en Belgique du IIe siècle à nos jours*, Brussels, Editions de la Librairie encyclopédique, 1955.
A. PINCHART, "Les fabriques de verre de Venise d'Anvers et de Bruxelles au XVIe et au XVIIe siècle," in *Bulletin des Commissions royales d'Art et d'Archéologie*, 1882.
A. BAAR, "Verrerie des Flandres ; fabrication anversoise," in *Revue belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art*, 7, 1938.

STAINED GLASS

Basic studies :

J. HELBIG, *De glasschilderkunst in België. Repertorium en documenten*, Antwerp, De Sikkel, 2 vols, 1943-1951.
J. HELBIG, *Les vitraux de la première moitié du XVIe siècle conservés en Belgique. Province d'Anvers et Flandres (Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi, Belgique, II)*, Paris, Caisse nationale des Monuments historiques, 1968.
J. HELBIG, "Origine anversoise de la peinture sur verre dite à l'apprêt," in *Revue belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art*, 8, 1938.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

Colloquium restauratieproblemen van Antwerpse klavecimbels, Antwerp, Ruckers - Genootschap, 1971.
F. HUBBARD, *Three centuries of harpsichord-making*, Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard University Press, 1965.
R. RUSSELL, *The harpsichord and clavichord*, London, Faber & Faber, 1959 ; 2nd ed. 1973.

IV. CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

HUMANISM

General reference work on Antwerp and other South Netherlandish scholars :

A. GERLO, *Bibliographie de l'humanisme belge, précédée d'une bibliographie générale concernant l'humanisme européen*, Brussels, Presses universitaires, 1965.

L. VOET, *Het Belgisch humanisme na Erasmus ; het geestesleven in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden ten tijde van Plantin en Rubens*. Catalogue of the exhibition in Plantin-Moretus Museum, 1969.
See also L. VOET, chapters devoted to humanism in *The Golden Compasses* ; see below under typography.

EDUCATION

C. B. BOURLAND, *The Guild of St. Ambrose, or schoolmasters' guild of Antwerp, 1529-1579*, 1951.

CARTOGRAPHY

Basic study :
J. DENUCÉ, *Oud-Nederlandsche kaartmakers in betrekking met Plantijn*, Antwerp, De Nederlandsche Boekhandel, 2 vols, 1912-1913.

TYPOGRAPHY

Studies on typography at Antwerp :
M. SABBE, "La typographie à Anvers avant et après Plantin," in *Fêtes données en 1920 à Anvers et Tours à l'occasion du quatrième centenaire de la naissance de Chr. Plantin*, Anvers, Grande Librairie, 1920.
The contributions of M. SABBE in *Histoire du livre et de l'imprimerie en Belgique des origines à nos jours*, Brussels, Musée du Livre, 1923-1926 (the chapters *La typographie anversoise au XVIe siècle* ; *Christophe Plantin et ses contemporains* ; *La typographie anversoise au XVIIe et au XVIIIe siècle*), were also published separately under the title *La vie des livres à Anvers*, Brussels, Musée du Livre, 1926.
A list of Antwerp typographers :
F. OLTHOFF, *De boekdrukkers, boekverkopers en uitgevers in Antwerpen*, Antwerp, J.E. Buschmann, 1891.
Printer's marks :
G. VAN HAVRE, *Marques typographiques des imprimeurs et libraires anversois*, Antwerp, J.E. Buschmann, 2 vols, 1883-1884.
Bibliographic references up to 1943 :
A. DERMUL & H. F. BOUCHERY, *Bibliographie betreffende de Antwerpsche drukkers*, Antwerp, Comité der Antwerpsche propagandaweken, 1938 ; A. DERMUL, "Aanvullingen en verbeteringen op de 'Bibliographie betreffende de Antwerpsche drukkers'," in *De Gulden Passer*, 21, 1943.

Plantin and the Moretuses : L. VOET, *The Golden Compasses. A history and evaluation of the printing and publishing activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp*, Amsterdam, Van Gendt - London, Routledge & Paul Regan - New York, Abner Schram, 2 vols, 1969-1973.

Reference works on books printed in Antwerp (and Belgium or the Netherlands in general) :
M. F. A. G. CAMPBELL, *Annales de la typographie néerlandaise au XVe siècle*, The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 5 vols, 1874-1875. See also M. E. KRONENBERG, *Campbell's Annales de la typographie néerlandaise au XVe siècle ; contributions to a new edition*, The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1956.
NIJHOFF & KRONENBERG, *Nederlandsche bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540*, The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 2 parts in 4 vols, 1923-40.
E. COCKX-INDESTEGE & G. GLORIEUX, *Belgica typographica 1541-1600. Catalogus librorum impressorum ab anno MDXLI ad annum MDC in regionibus quae nunc Regni Belgarum partes sunt. I. Bibliotheca Regia Bruxellensis*, Nieuwkoop, B. De Graaf, 1968.
J. PEETERS-FONTAINAS, *Bibliographie des impressions espagnoles des Pays-Bas méridionaux*, Nieuwkoop, B. De Graaf, 2 vols, 1965.
Bibliotheca Belgica. Bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas. Republished in 5 vols, Brussels, Culture et Civilisation, 1964.

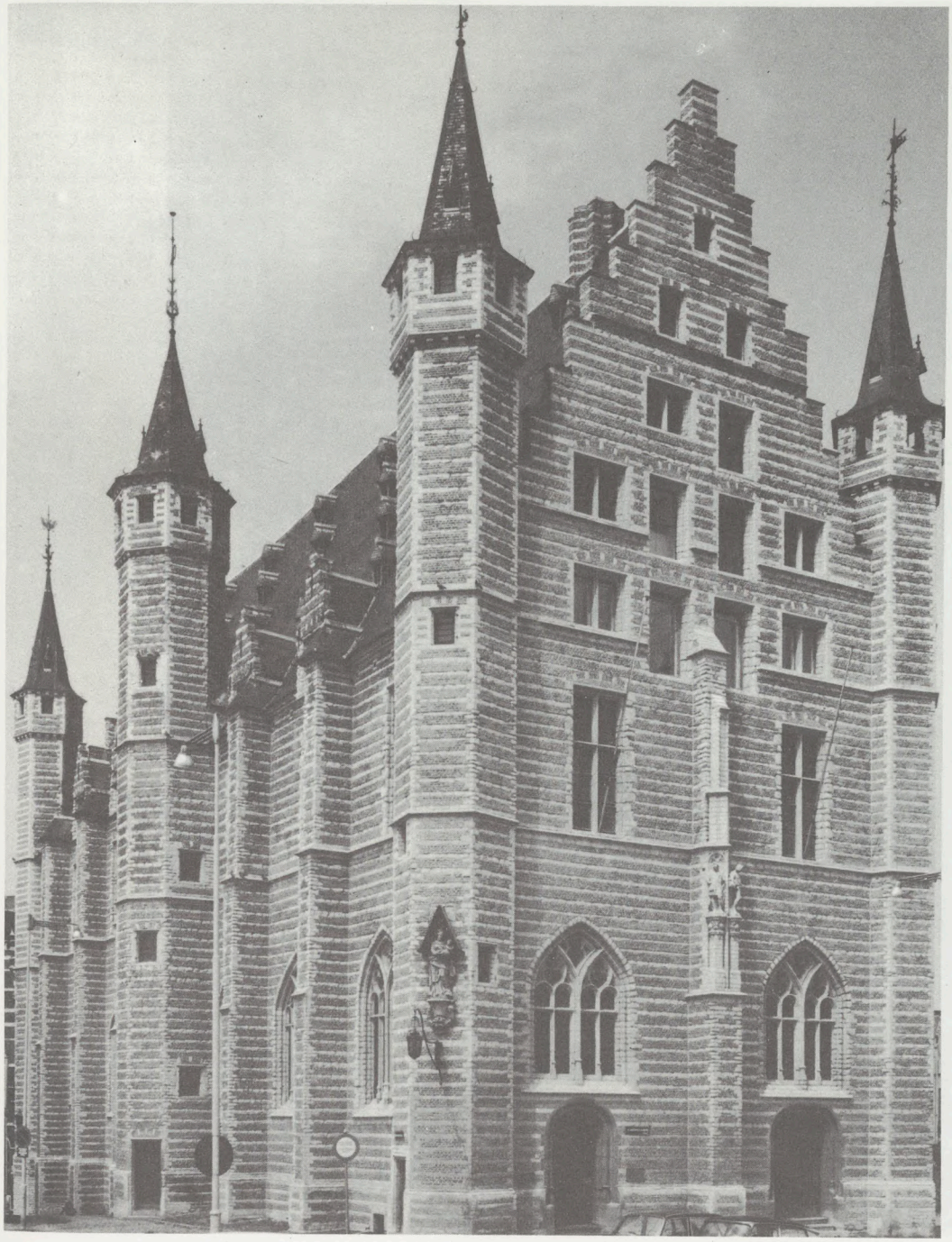
Important contributions in *De Gulden Passer*, Bulletin of the Society of Antwerp Bibliophiles, Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, from 1923.

For book-illustration, see also the studies of DELEN and FUNCK quoted in the chapter on graphic art.

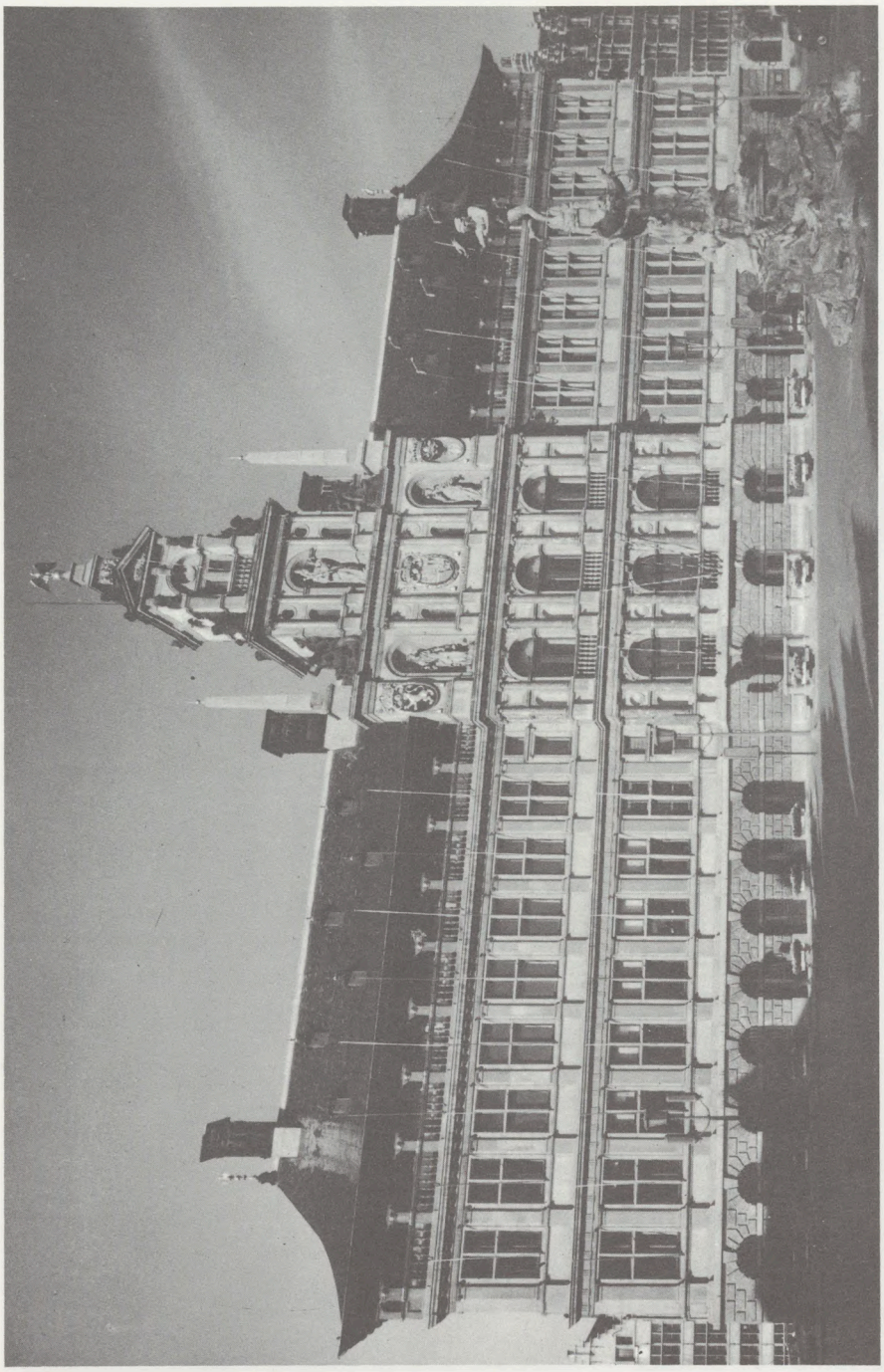
Aerial view of the older part of Antwerp with some of the foremost landmarks of the city. On the foreground the Cathedral ; to the left the Town Hall and the Great Market Place ; immediately to the North of the Town Hall the Butchers' Hall ; above the Sint Paulus Church ; to the extreme left the *Steen* and the river Scheldt.

Antwerp's pride : the Cathedral

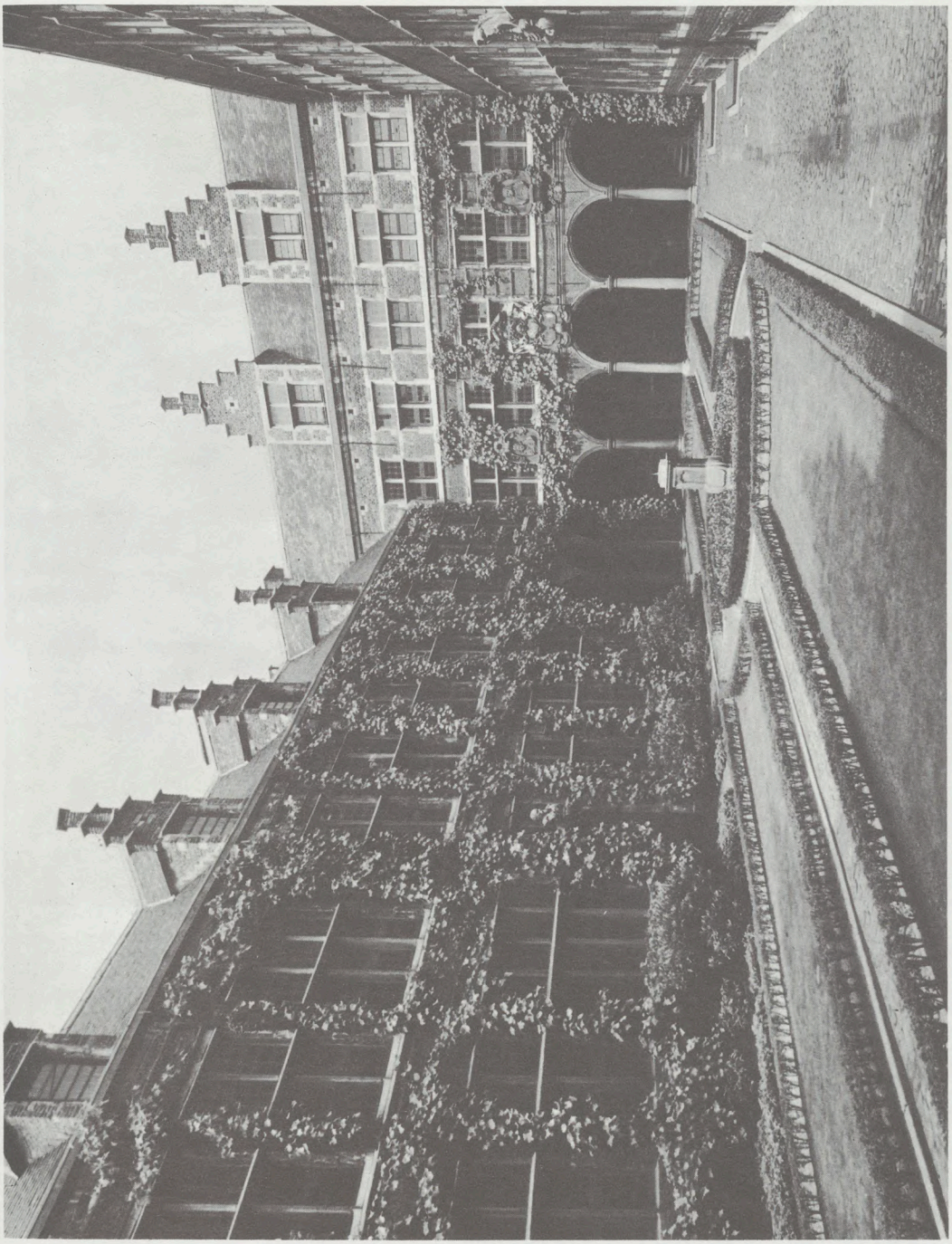
The *Steen* ("Stone") : the entrance gate of the old castle, at the foot of which the agglomeration Antwerp took its start at the end of the 9th century. The castle itself was dismantled in the 15th century but the gate was preserved as a prison ; it is now the National Maritime Museum.



The *Vleeshuis* ("Butchers' Hall") built by the Butchers' Guild in 1501-1503 in typical Gothic style as sale's hall for the meat.



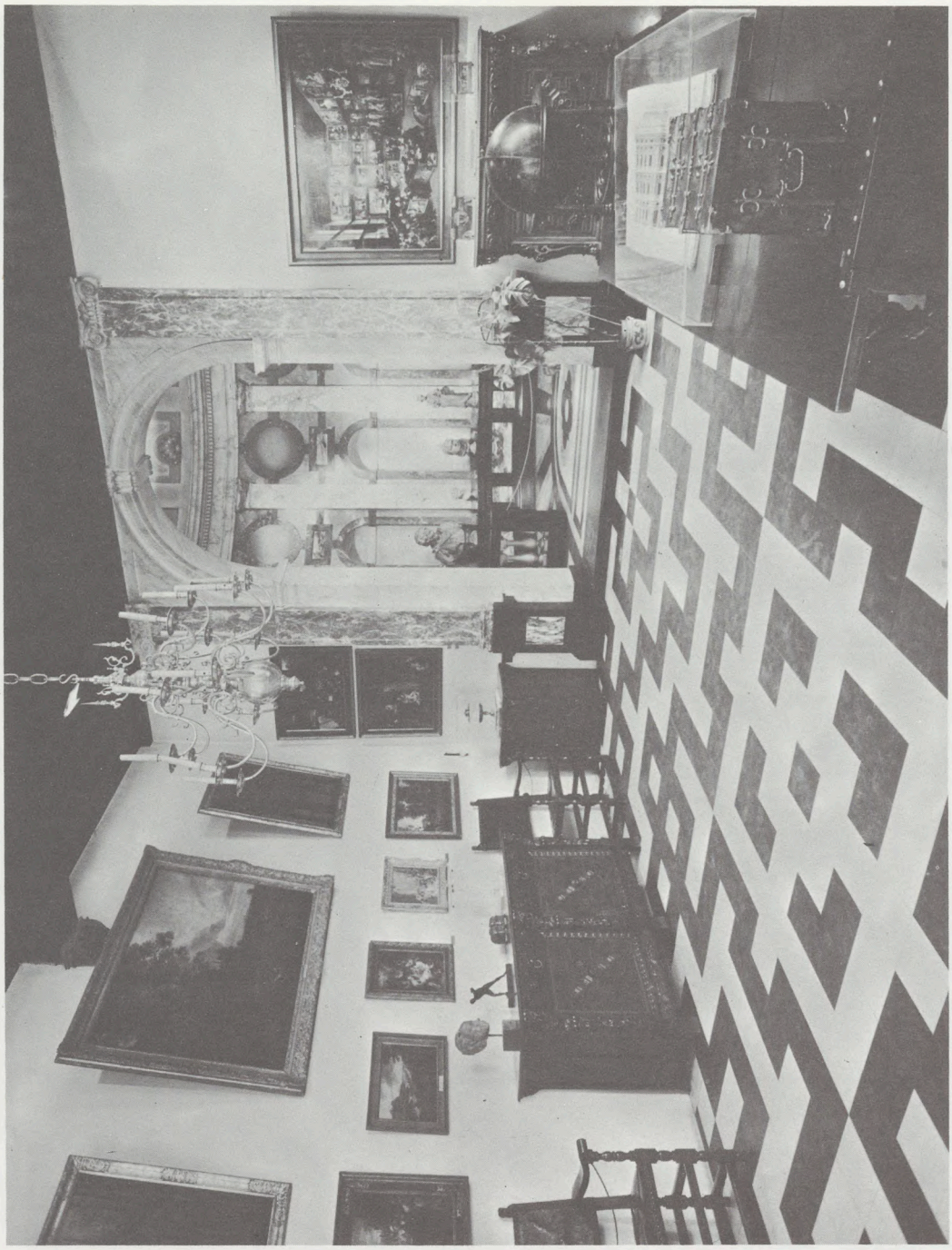
The Town Hall, 1561-1564 : the first monumental Renaissance building in the Netherlands



The Plantin-Moretus Museum : the courtyard of the Plantinian house, 16th - 17th centuries

The Plantin-Moretus Museum : the old printing press

Rubens' House : the portico



Rubens' House : the Art Chamber

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

2 Marten de Vos, *The Nativity*, 1577
3 Peter Brueghel II (attributed), *The Adoration of the Magi*
4 Jan Brueghel the Elder, *Wedding-party in a landscape*
5 Peter Paul Rubens, *Wisdom (Minerva) repelling War and Rebellion, c.* 1632-33
6 Jacob Jordaens, *The Adoration of the Shepherds*
7 Jacob Jordaens, *Moses and Zipporah, his Ethiopian Wife, c.* 1650
8 Anthony van Dyck (after), *Portrait of Nicolaas Rockox*
10 Cornelis Schut, *The Assumption of the Virgin*, 1645-47
11 Theodoor van Thulden, *The Continence of Scipio*
12 Erasmus Quellin, *Portrait of Ludovicus Nonnius*, 1647
13 Anonymous Antwerp Master, *The proclamation of the Treaty of Munster*
15 Matthijs or Hieronymus Cock, *Italian landscape*
16 Anonymous Antwerp Master, *Landscape with a church, c.* 1550
17 Marten de Vos, *America*, 1594
18 Marten de Vos, *Africa*, 1594
21 Joris Hoefnagel, *Emblematic composition in honor of the Antwerp cartographer Abraham Ortelius*
23 Joost de Momper, *Mountain landscape*
24 Jan Brueghel the Elder, *A road in the countryside*
25 Hendrik van Balen the Elder, *Diana and Actaeon*, 1605
26 Peter Paul Rubens, *Head of Henry IV, King of France*, 1622/25
27 Frans Snyders, *Vicious dog*
28 Paul de Vos, *Game, vegetables and fruit on a table*
29 Jacob Jordaens, *Saint Martin healing a possessed, c.* 1630
30 Jacob Jordaens, *Paul and Silas preaching at Philippi, c.* 1645
31 Anthony van Dyck, *Christ falling under the cross, c.* 1617
33 Jan Fyt, *Running dog*
34 Bonaventura Peeters, *Ships in a tempest*
35 *Christ in sorrows, c.* 1500
37 *Three wise men, c.* 1520
38 *Christ crowned with thorns, c.* 1530
39 *Three noble men, c.* 1530
40 *Beam key from the house of the printer Steelsius*, 1555
45 *The sacrifice of Abraham*, 17th century
47 Hans Symoens, *Portrait of Frans Floris*, 1552
49 Jacob Jonghelinck, *Portrait of Cardinal Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle*, 1561
50 Jacob Jonghelinck, *Portrait of Joost de Damhouder*, 1566
51 Jacob Jonghelinck, *Beggar's medal*, 1566
52 Jacob Jonghelinck, *The siege of Antwerp*, 1585
54 Jacob Jonghelinck, *Portrait of Justus Lipsius*, 1599
56 Jacob Jonghelinck (attributed to), *Portrait of Margareta of Austria*, 1566
57 Jacob Jonghelinck, *Portrait of Jan Walravens, "fool" of a Brussels Rhetoric chamber*, 1563
58 Coenraet Bloc, *Portrait of Prince Maurits of Nassau*, 1603
60 Jan van Montfort, *Portrait of Abraham Ortelius*
62 Jan van Montfort, *Portrait of Archdukes Albert and Isabella*, 1599
64 Jan van Montfort, *Archduchess Isabella as queen of an archer's guild*, 1615
67 Silvester van Parys, *"The King of Tunis"*, 1535
68 Jan Mollyns, *Portrait of Francesco Donato, Doge of Venice*, 1554
69 Hans Liefrinck, *Portrait of Emperor Charles V on horseback and in armor*
70 Anonymous master after Peter Coecke van Aalst, *View of Constantinople*, 1553

72 Hieronymus Cock, *Alpine landscape, c.* 1557/58
75 Hans Vredeman de Vries, *Grottesco in diversche manieren...*
76 Philip Galle, *The Alchimist, c.* 1558
82 Hierrronymus ericx, *Portrait of Henriette Balzac d'Entragues*, 1600
84 Lucas Vorsterman, *The Chaste Susanne*, 1620
86 Boetius a Bolswert, *The judgment of Salomon*
87 Schelte a Bolswert, *Landscape with Philemon and Baucis*
90 Christopher Jegher, *Hercules killing the hydra*
92 Melchisedech van Hoorn, *Three views of Antwerp*, 1557
93 Pauwels van Overbeke, *Views of the City of Antwerp*
94 Frans Huys, *Skating in the city-moat, near the Emperor's Gate, c.* 1558-61
95 Joris Hoefnagel, *Ice-joy on the frozen river Scheldt before Antwerp*, 1563
99 Frans Hogenberg, *The Spanish fury, 4 November 1576 : the struggle before the Town Hall*
105 Gaspar Bouttats, *The Antwerp "ommegang" at the Meirbrug in 1684*
106 Ludolphus a Saxonia, *Tboeck vanden leven ons Heeren Jesu Christi*
109 Petrus Apianus & Gemma Frisius, *Cosmographicus liber*
111 *Dutch Bible*, Antwerp, Jacob van Liesvelt, 1542
112 *Liber primus sacrarum cantionum quinque vocum*, Antwerp, Tielman Susato, 1546
118 Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, Antwerp, 1570
120 Gerard de Jode, *Speculum Orbis Terrarum*, Antwerp, 1578
127 Famianus Strada, *De Bello Belgico decas prima*, Antwerp, Joannes Cnobbaert, 1635
133 *Woodcut grotesque-initials*
135 *Woodcut printer's marks used by Plantin*
139 *Hebrew Bible*, Antwerp, Plantin, 1566, in-octavo
140 *Polyglot-Bible* : double page from the first volume
144 Mathias Lobelius, *Plantarum seu stirpium historia*, Antwerp, Plantin, 1576
151 Justus Lipsius, *"Ad lectorem"* for the edition of *De cruce libri tres*
155 Peter van der Borcht, *A triumphal arch in Antwerp*
157 Hubertus Goltzius, *Icones Imperatorum Romanorum*
165 Balthasar Corderius, *Catena sexaginta quinque Graecorum patrum in S. Lucam*
166 Ludovicus Blosius, *Opera*
167 Peter Paul Rubens, Drawing for the frontispiece of *Justi Lipsi Opera Omnia*
172 Claus van Dormaele, *Panel stamped binding with the portrait of Emperor Charles V*, 1543
174 Gilt-leather bookbinding, 1570

CONTENTS

	Foreword	5
	Introduction	7
I.	History of Antwerp	9
II.	The City	17
III.	Antwerp Metropolis of the Arts	23
IV.	Painting and Drawing	34
V.	Sculpture	80
VI.	Medals	92
VII.	The graphic Arts	101
VIII.	Typography	138
IX.	The Shop of Christopher Plantin	157
X.	The Bookbinding	197
	A selected Bibliography	201
	List of Illustrations	221

Printed in Belgium by J.E. Buschmann - Antwerp

Printed in Belgium by J. E. Buschmann-Antwerp